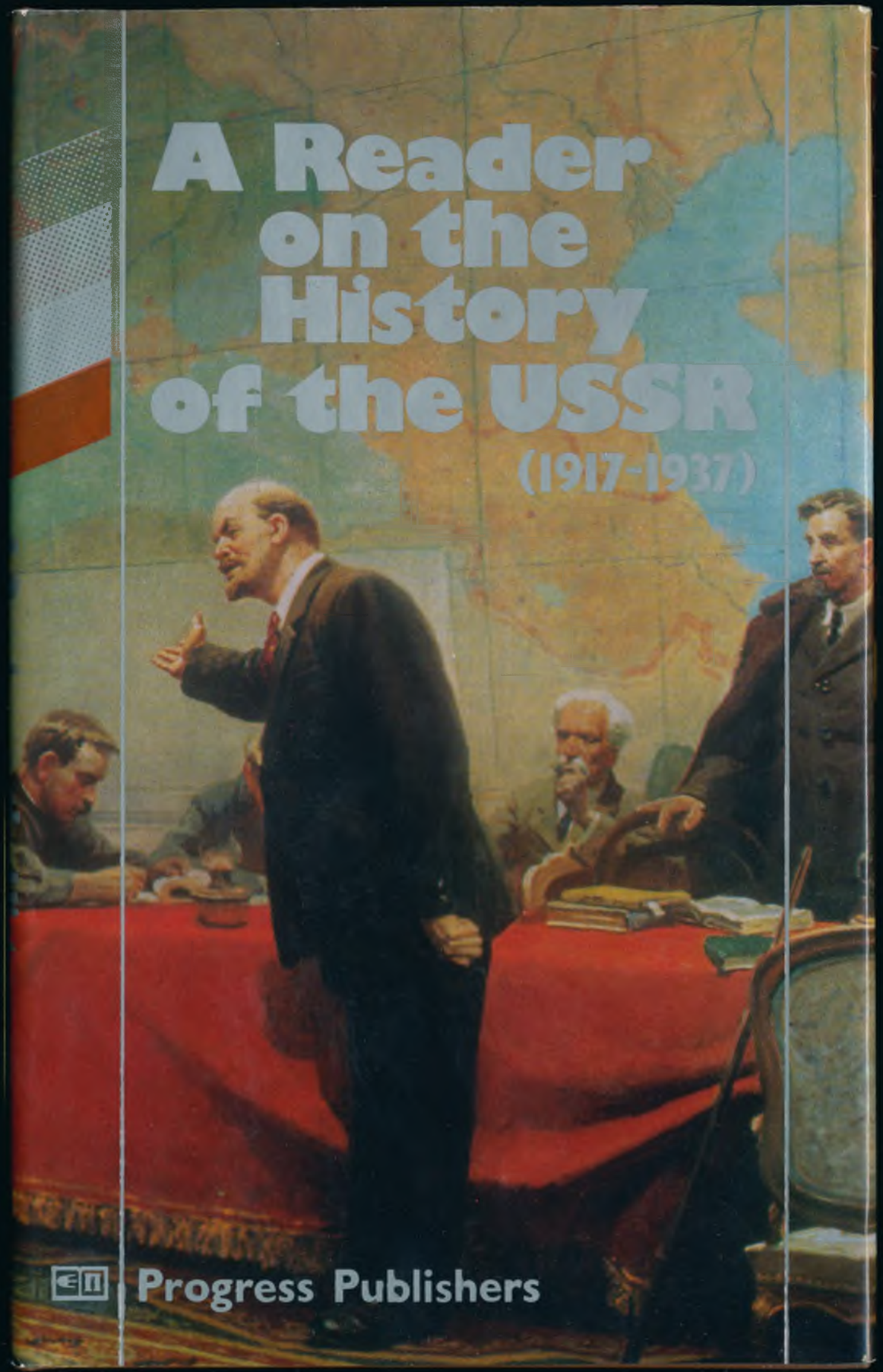
A Reader on the History of the USSR

(1917-1937)



Progress Publishers

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Progress Publishers

Translated from the Russian
Designed by *Nikolai Senko*
Compiled by *Victor Vinogradov*

**ХРЕСТОМАТИЯ ПО ИСТОРИИ СССР
(1917-1937 ГГ.)**

На английском языке

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FOREWORD

This book is addressed to all those who are interested in the main stages in the history of the Soviet state. It offers information on the period which lasted from the eve of the Great October Socialist Revolution up to the adoption, in 1936, of the second Constitution of the USSR, reflecting the achievements the country had made by that time in its development, and the historic fact of the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union.

The book falls into sections; each of them contains various documents and other materials pertaining to a particular stage of Soviet history it describes, such as, for example, articles and other works written by Lenin, the great leader of the Socialist Revolution in Russia and of the international revolutionary working-class movement, and the founder of the Soviet state; state decrees and enactments; decisions of

Congresses of the Communist Party of Russia, which was called then (up to March 1918) the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (Bolsheviks)—the RSDLP(B), or the Bolshevik Party for short; resolutions of the Party's Central Committee; recollections, excerpts from books, and diverse publications from newspapers and periodicals.

The documents are supplied with introductory notes and comments.

For the most part, the materials and documents are abridged or cited in excerpts for lack of space.

The documentary material provided in the book is meant to give students a better insight into the period of Soviet history under consideration.

Section One

The Struggle Waged by the Working People of Russia Under the Guidance of the Bolshevik Party to Turn the Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution into a Socialist Revolution

REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE IN RUSSIA UNDER DUAL POWER

FROM THE THESES OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU IN COMMEMORATION OF THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.

June 21, 1967

The transition from capitalism to socialism is a law-governed process of social development....

In Russia the socio-economic and political contradictions came to a head during the imperialist world war, which undermined the country's economy and put great hardships upon the workers and peasants. The revolution of February 1917 swept away the tsarist autocracy, but the bourgeoisie who came to power neither wanted nor were able to satisfy the vital needs of the workers and peasants. The solution of basic social problems could be ensured only when political power was seized by the proletariat. Their own vital interests and deep anxiety for the country's destiny imperiously spurred the working masses towards the accomplishment of revolutionary changes. The immediate practical task was a socialist revolution....

On February 27 (March 12, New Style), the power of the tsar, Nicholas the Second, and his bourgeois-landlord government was overthrown in a victorious uprising of workers and soldiers supported by the revolutionary movement throughout the country.

The downfall of tsarism spelled an end to the bourgeois-democratic stage of the revolution in Russia. A peculiar situation ensued: officially, state power had been taken over by the bourgeois Provisional government, which had the old administrative machinery at its disposal; but in actual fact, real power—the revolutionary masses of workers, soldiers and peasants—lay

with the Soviets, because these masses regarded them as organs of their own, people's power. So the country was ruled by dual power, and the two dictatorships—that of the bourgeoisie represented by the Provisional government, and the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry represented by the Soviets—became intertwined. Had the Soviets at that time actually been organs of the working people's revolutionary power, they could easily have ousted the bourgeoisie from state power by peaceful means and established a single power of the working people in Russia, the single power of the Soviets.

However, since the Russian working class at that moment did not have a sufficiently strong revolutionary party (such a party—the Bolshevik Party, went out from underground only in March 1917, and then it had been bled white by cruel persecution to which it was subjected over the last few years of tsarism), the broad people's masses found themselves under the influence of the petty-bourgeois parties of Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries who dominated the Soviets at that time, including the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies and especially its Presidium. The SRs (Socialist-Revolutionaries) and the Mensheviks, who feared a further development of the people's revolutionary struggle as much as the bourgeois parties did, tried to curb that struggle as soon as possible. They therefore decided to render support to the Provisional government, and of their own free will gave over state power to the bourgeoisie.

The Provisional government pursued a counter-revolutionary policy. It strove to make Russia continue to take part in the imperialist world war, and tried to suppress the revolutionary movement in the army and the navy and to preserve intact both the old machinery of the bourgeois-landlord state, and landed property; it also forcibly kept non-Russian nationalities within the framework of a single state under the power of the bourgeoisie and the landlords.

Though calming the working people with the deceptive promise that all their vital problems concerning peace, land, improvement of living standards and elimination of the national oppression of the country's non-Russian nationalities would be solved by the Constituent Assembly, which would be elected "by universal, equal, direct and secret ballot", the Provisional government was in fact in no hurry to convene it, because it wanted to prepare elections in such a way that would ensure that the overwhelming majority of seats in the future Constituent Assembly went to representatives of the bourgeois parties and their accomplices—the Mensheviks and the SRs.

The people's masses had yet to find out from their own experience that it was only a socialist revolution that could resolve such problems as ending the imperialist war, concluding peace, and abolishing landed estate property and national oppression.

Lenin mapped out a concrete plan for the struggle that would make it possible to pass over from the bourgeois-democratic revolution to a socialist revolution. This was formulated in "The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution" and in other Lenin's works of that period, as well as in the decisions of the Seventh All-Russia Conference and the Sixth Congress of the Bolshevik Party.

The Bolsheviks, guided by Lenin's proposition about the possibility of a peaceful development of the revolution under dual power, began working to win the masses over to their own side. Their intention was to isolate the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, replace their representatives in the Soviets by those who consistently supported the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie and the landlords, transform the Soviets into genuine organs

of people's revolutionary power and turn entire power in the country over to such renovated Soviets.

The process of further revolutionising the masses was underway in the country.

V.I. LENIN

FROM *THE TASKS OF THE PROLETARIAT IN THE PRESENT REVOLUTION*

I did not arrive in Petrograd until the night of April 3, and therefore at the meeting on April 4 I could, of course, deliver the report on the tasks of the revolutionary proletariat only on my own behalf, and with reservations as to insufficient preparation....

I publish these personal theses of mine with only the briefest explanatory notes, which were developed in far greater detail in the report.

Theses

(1) In our attitude towards the war, which under the new government of Lvov and Co. unquestionably remains on Russia's part a predatory imperialist war owing to the capitalist nature of that government, not the slightest concession to "revolutionary defencism" is permissible.

The class-conscious proletariat can give its consent to a revolutionary war, which would really justify revolutionary defencism, only on condition: (a) that the power pass to the proletariat and the poorest sections of the peasants aligned with the proletariat; (b) that all annexations be renounced in deed and not in word; (c) that a complete break be effected in actual fact with all capitalist interests.

In view of the undoubted honesty of those broad sections of the mass believers in revolutionary defencism who accept the war only as a necessity, and not as a means of conquest, in view of the fact that they are being deceived by the bourgeoisie, it is necessary with particular thoroughness, persistence and patience to explain their error to them, to explain the inseparable connection existing between capital and the imperialist war, and to prove that without overthrowing capital *it is impossible* to end the war by a truly democratic peace, a peace not imposed by violence.

The most widespread campaign for this view must be organised in the army at the front.

Fraternisation.

(2) The specific feature of the present situation in Russia is that the country is *passing* from the first stage of the revolution—which, owing to the insufficient class-consciousness and organisation of the proletariat, placed power in the hands of the bourgeoisie— to its *second* stage, which must place power in the hands of the proletariat and the poorest sections of the peasants.

This transition is characterised, on the one hand, by a maximum of legally recognised rights (Russia is *now* the freest of all the belligerent countries in the world); on the other, by the absence of violence towards the masses, and, finally, by their unreasoning trust in the government of capitalists, those worst enemies of peace and socialism.

This peculiar situation demands of us an ability to adapt ourselves to the *special* conditions of Party work among unprecedentedly large masses of proletarians who have just awakened to political life.

(3) No support for the Provisional Government; the utter falsity of all its promises should be made clear, particularly of those relating to the renunciation of annexations. Exposure in place of the impermissible, illusion-breeding "demand" that *this* government, a government of capitalists, should *cease* to be an imperialist government.

(4) Recognition of the fact that in most of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies our Party is in a minority, so far a small minority, as against *a bloc of all* the petty-bourgeois opportunist elements,... who have yielded to the influence of the bourgeoisie and spread that influence among the proletariat.

The masses must be made to see that the Soviets of Workers' Deputies are the *only possible* form of revolutionary government, and that therefore our task is, as long as *this* government yields to the influence of the bourgeoisie, to present a patient, systematic, and persistent *explanation* of the errors of their tactics, an explanation especially adapted to the practical needs of the masses.

As long as we are in the minority we carry on the work of criticising and exposing errors and at the same time we preach the necessity of transferring the entire state power to the Soviets of Workers' Deputies, so that the people may overcome their mistakes by experience.

(5) Not a parliamentary republic—to return to a parliamentary republic from the Soviets of Workers' Deputies would

be a retrograde step—but a republic of Soviets of Workers', Agricultural Labourers' and Peasants' Deputies throughout the country, from top to bottom.

Abolition of the police, the army and the bureaucracy. The salaries of all officials, all of whom are elective and displaceable at any time, not to exceed the average wage of a competent worker.

(6) The weight of emphasis in the agrarian programme to be shifted to the Soviets of Agricultural Labourers' Deputies.

Confiscation of all landed estates.

Nationalisation of *all* lands in the country, the land to be disposed of by the local Soviets of Agricultural Labourers' and Peasants' Deputies. The organisation of separate Soviets of Deputies of Poor Peasants. The setting up of a model farm on each of the large estates... under the control of the Soviets of Agricultural Labourers' Deputies and for the public account.

(7) The immediate amalgamation of all banks in the country into a single national bank, and the institution of control over it by the Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

(8) It is not our *immediate* task to "introduce" socialism, but only to bring social production and the distribution of products at once under the *control* of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies....

Written on April 4 and 5, 1917

V.I. LENIN

From the Article
THE DUAL POWER

The basic question of every revolution is that of state power. Unless this question is understood, there can be no intelligent participation in the revolution, not to speak of guidance of the revolution.

The highly remarkable feature of our revolution is that is has brought about a *dual power*. This fact must be grasped first and foremost: unless it is understood, we cannot advance. We must know how to supplement and amend old "formulas", for example, those of Bolshevism, for while they have been found to be correct on the whole, their concrete realisation *has turned out to be* different. *Nobody* previously thought, or could have thought, of a dual power.

What is this dual power? Alongside the Provisional Government, the government of the *bourgeoisie, another government* has arisen, so far weak and incipient, but undoubtedly a government that actually exists and is growing—the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

What is the class composition of this other government? It consists of the proletariat and the peasants (in soldiers' uniforms). What is the political nature of this government? It is a revolutionary dictatorship, i.e., a power directly based on revolutionary seizure, on the direct initiative of the people from below, and *not on a law* enacted by a centralised state power. It is an entirely different kind of power from the one that generally exists in the parliamentary bourgeois-democratic republics of the usual type still prevailing in the advanced countries of Europe and America. This circumstance is often overlooked, often not given enough thought, yet it is the crux of the matter. *This* power is of *the same type* as the Paris Commune of 1871. The fundamental characteristics of this type are: (1) the source of power is not a law previously discussed and enacted by parliament, but the direct initiative of the people from below, in their local areas—direct "seizure", to use a current expression; (2) the replacement of the police and the army, which are institutions divorced from the people and set against the people, by the direct arming of the whole people; order in the state under such a power is maintained by the armed workers and peasants *themselves,* by the armed people *themselves;* (3) officialdom, the bureaucracy, are either similarly replaced by the direct rule of the people themselves or at least placed under special control; they not only become elected officials, but are also *subject to recall* at the people's first demand; they are reduced to the position of simple agents; from a privileged group holding "jobs" remunerated on a high, bourgeois scale, they become workers of a special "arm of the service", whose remuneration *does not exceed* the ordinary pay of a competent worker.

This, and this *alone,* constitutes the *essence* of the Paris Commune as a special type of state....

To become a power the class-conscious workers must win the majority to their side. *As long as* no violence is used against the people there is no other road to power. We are not Blancists, we do not stand for the seizure of power by a minority. We are Marxists, we stand for proletarian class struggle against petty-bourgeois intoxication, against chauvinism-defencism, phrase-mongering and dependence on the bourgeoisie....

The bourgeoisie stands for the undivided power of the bourgeoisie.

The class-conscious workers stand for the undivided power of the Soviets of Workers', Agricultural Labourers', Peasants', and Soldiers' Deputies—for undivided power made possible not by adventurist acts, but by *clarifying* proletarian minds, by *emancipating* them from the influence of the bourgeoisie.

The petty bourgeoisie—"Social-Democrats", Socialist-Revolutionaries, etc., etc.—vacillate and, thereby, *hinder* this clarification and emancipation.

This is the actual, the *class* alignment of forces that determines our tasks.

Pravda № 28, April 9, 1917.

From the Documents of
The Seventh (April) All-Russia Conference
of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.)
April 24-29 (May 7-12), 1917

RESOLUTION ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION

(Written by V.I. Lenin)

The policy of national oppression, inherited from the autocracy and monarchy, is maintained by the landowners, capitalists, and petty bourgeoisie in order to protect their class privileges and to cause disunity among the workers of the various nationalities. Modern imperialism, which increases the tendency to subjugate weaker nations, is a new factor intensifying national oppression.

The elimination of national oppression, if at all achievable in capitalist society, is possible only under a consistently democratic republican system and state administration that guarantee complete equality for all nations and languages.

The right of all the nations forming part of Russia freely to secede and form independent states must be recognised. To deny them this right, or to fail to take measures guaranteeing its practical realisation, is equivalent to supporting a policy of seizure or annexation. Only the recognition by the proletariat of the right of nations to secede can ensure complete solidarity among the workers of the various nations and help to bring the nations closer together on truly democratic lines.

The right of nations freely to secede must not be confused with the advisability of secession by a given nation at a

given moment. The party of the proletariat must decide the latter question quite independently in each particular case, having regard to the interests of social development as a whole and the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat for socialism....

The party of the proletariat emphatically rejects what is known as "national cultural autonomy", under which education, etc., is removed from the control of the state and put in the control of some kind of national diets. National cultural autonomy artificially divides the workers living in one locality, and even working in the same industrial enterprise, according to their various "national cultures"; in other words, it strengthens the ties between the workers and the bourgeois culture of their nations, whereas the aim of the Social-Democrats is to develop the international culture of the world proletariat.

The party demands that a fundamental law be embodied in the constitution annulling all privileges enjoyed by any one nation and all infringements of the rights of national minorities.

The interests of the working class demand that the workers of all nationalities in Russia should have common proletarian organisations: political, trade union, co-operative educational institutions, and so forth. Only the merging of the workers of the various nationalities into such common organisations will make it possible for the proletariat to wage a successful struggle against international Capital and bourgeois nationalism.

On April 18, Pavel Milyukov, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Provisional government and leader of the Constitutional-Democratic Party, signed a note to the effect that the war would be continued to a victorious end. The note stirred up the wrath and indignation of the workers and soldiers.

On April 21, at the call of the Bolshevik Party, tens of thousands of Petrograd workers downed tools and came out into the streets, demonstrating for peace. This was the first political crisis since the February Revolution.

The bourgeoisie made an attempt to resolve the political crisis by forming a government coalition with the Mensheviks and the SRs. As a result of a deal made between the Provisional government and the SR and Menshevik leaders of the Petrograd Soviet, the first coalition government with Prince Lvov at the head emerged on May 5. It comprised ten capitalist Ministers and five ministers-members of the Menshevik and the SR parties. The workers vehemently protested against Socialists participating in the coalition government and demanded that all power be given over to the Soviets.

The spring of 1917 saw a rapid envigoration of the peasant movement. The peasants ceased altogether, or reduced to a minimum the payment of land rentals to the landowners and drove managers away from the landed estates. They also waged a struggle against the kulaks (well-to-do peasants).

FROM THE REPORT OF MAY 13, 1917 BY THE CHIEF BOARD OF MILITIA ON THE PEASANT MOVEMENT IN KAZAN GUBERNIA*

Agrarian disturbances which began in the gubernia on April 22 have not stopped, in some places arbitrary peasant actions assume the character of a radical re-distribution of the landed estates.... In Laishevsky Uyezd ** the crowd drove out the personnel from Neratova's estate; in Stepanov's estate the land was seized and sowing was forbidden on it ... there were conflicts in Princess Gruzinskaya's estate, too, also over the question of land deficiency.... In the Tsivilsky and Sviyazhsky uyezds there were cases of peasants self-willed seizing church lands. In some uyezds peasant commune members want to divide up the land belonging to the owners of isolated farmsteads. On the demand of the Gubernia Commissar, local peasants have been repeatedly told that law and order should be observed, that they should refrain from land seizures and arbitrary action, and that the issues involving the land must not be dealt with other than by mutual consent until the convocation of the Constituent Assembly....

COMMUNICATION OF THE PETROGRAD TELEGRAPH AGENCY ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE BALTIC FLEET (THE CENTROBALT) AND ITS FUNCTIONS

April 21, 1917

In conformity with the decision of Sailor Deputies, the Central Committee of the Baltic Fleet shall be set up at the Headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief of the Baltic Fleet. According to the Rules, the Committee shall be recognised as the supreme body, without whose approval not a single order pertaining to the life of the Baltic Fleet can have any force. The Committee shall consider all the orders, ordinances and instructions concerning the Fleet's social, political and internal life, whatever their source; it shall not interfere into the Fleet's strictly operative actions. However, not wishing to leave such an important means of defence as the Fleet under

* Gubernia—an administrative division which can otherwise be referred to as "province".—*Ed.*

** Uyezd—the lowest administrative division.—*Ed.*

the old conditions, without any control, the Committee regards it as necessary and expedient to form a commission at the General Headquarters, which shall be made responsible for the observation of both the political and the strategic situation and of the Fleet's actions. The Committee shall concern itself with establishing ties with the operating Fleets in all the seas; it shall also be charged with convening, in the shortest term possible, an all-Navy congress. The Committee consists of 31 Fleet representatives....

The Bolshevik Party began to work vigorously among the army and the navy. Many outstanding Party leaders were engaged in propaganda work on the fronts. Among the troops of the Western Front, for example, active revolutionary work was carried on by Mikhail Frunze, under the assumed name of Mikhailov, who was at that time Chairman of the Minsk Gubernia Peasant Committee and the Executive Committee of the Soviet of Peasants' Deputies of the Minsk and Vilno gubernias.

REPORT BY MAJ.-GEN. M.P. CHEGLOV, COMMANDER OF THE 55TH DIVISION, TO GEN. V.P. GURKO, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE WESTERN FRONT, ON THE ARRIVAL TO THE DIVISION OF AGITATOR D.P. MIKHAILOV AND ON HIS CARRYING ON PROPAGANDA AIMED AT FRATERNISATION WITH THE GERMANS

May 1, 1917

I report the arrival to the division of Dmitry Mikhailov, a representative of the Petrograd Soviet of Soldiers' and Workers' Deputies, with certificate No. 126, signed on April 25. Among other things he has been agitating for fraternisation with the Germans, and today he is personally participating in fraternisation by the 220th Regiment. The 218th Regiment has also been involved. Admonitions by officers have no effect whatsoever....

Maj.-Gen. *Cheglov,*
Commander of the 55th Division

The national bourgeoisie of the Ukraine tried to keep the liberation movement within the framework of bourgeois autonomy, diverting the working people from class struggle, breaking their united front with the workers and peasants of Russia, and barring the socialist revolution from the Ukraine.

Bolsheviks exposed the nationalistic policy pursued by the Ukrainian bourgeoisie and called on the working people of the Ukraine to join forces with the working people of Russia in the struggle for national and social liberation.

FROM THE NEWSPAPER *THE VOICE OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT* (KIEV) ON A WORKERS' MEETING AT THE ARSENAL WORKS

June 16, 1917

On June 13, a meeting took place at the Arsenal Works attended by over 1,500 workers. Representatives from all the parties took the floor, speaking on the current situation and the Ukrainian question.... Bolshevik representative Comrade Isaakov highlighted the Bolsheviks' stand on the Ukrainian question, pointing out that its solution goes hand in hand with the general transition of power into the hands of workers and the peasant poor, because the Democracy of all nationalities inhabiting Russia, and the Ukrainian Democracy in particular, cannot put any trust in the government which for the most part consists of capitalists continuing to pursue the rapacious policy of tsarism. Those present at the meeting repeatedly interrupted Comrade Isaakov's speech with stormy applause.

In Russia's national outskirts, the same mass organisations of the working people were active as in the Centre—the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. Russian workers and soldiers helped organise and carry out the activities of the national Soviets. This assistance was of great importance for the outlying districts of the country with their culturally backward population engaged in land-tilling. Friendship between Russians and working people in the national localities was taking firm root. The workers and peasants of Russia's national districts resolutely tied up their own liberation with the revolutionary movement of the Russian people.

FROM *OUR NEWSPAPER* (TASHKENT)

May 20, 1917

On Sunday May 14, according to the newspaper *Ashkhabad,* a demonstration took place in Skobelev Square in Ashkhabad. It was a kind of fraternisation between Turkmen and other nationalities living in the city, mostly Russians. It had all started as follows: On the day before, the Congress of the Soviets of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies of the Transcaspian Region convened in Ashkhabad sent its delegates to convey greetings to the session of the district congress of Turkmenian delegates. On May 14, the Turkmenian delegates returned the greetings, coming to the Congress of the Soviets of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies. The sides exchanged fraternal speeches about uniting and carrying on

joint work for the benefit of the state, and in particular of the native Transcaspian Region; the Turkmen called themselves the Russians' younger brothers and expressed their complete readiness to live in peace and friendship, like real brothers. After exchanging mutual greetings accompanied by embraces and kisses, a joint meeting was held in Skobelev Square, and friendly speeches were also pronounced there. Then, with music and songs, and carrying red banners, they all went to Freedom Street (formerly Kuropatkinskaya Street) and walked in a long procession almost to the very end of the street. Everybody's attention was arrested by groups of Turkmen and Russians who walked arm in arm with one another, and also by the banners whose pikes were crowned by the soldiers' service caps and the Turkmen's fur hats.

The demonstration was of an altogether peaceful and friendly nature.

The capitalists and landlords tried to strangle the revolution by hunger and the dislocation of production.

At many enterprises, workers' control over production and the distribution of products under factory committees was introduced. Factory committees played a great role in mobilising the working masses for the struggle to bring the socialist revolution to victory.

RESOLUTION OF A MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES FROM 164 FACTORY COMMITTEES OF THE TEXTILE MILLS OF THE MOSCOW INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT

June 17, 1917

The need to halt textile production is far from being proved. Work can possibly be stopped only in individual cases.

1. No mill or factory shall be closed without preliminary inspection by a control commission made up from representatives of the local supply agencies and members of the factory committee.

2. In case of attempts at illegal lockouts on the part of factory owners, the District Committee of Supplies shall requisition the enterprises in question....

On June 18, 1917, the order issued by War Minister Alexander Kerensky, a member of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, on the Russian offensive on the South-Western Front was made public. The First All-Russia Congress of Soviets, which was in session at that time and at which the SRs and the Mensheviks dominated, resolved to hold a demonstration in support of the order. But the demonstration, in which up to 500,000 people participated, took place under the Bolshevik slogan of "All Power to the Soviets!" Only a small group of demonstrators carried slogans expressing confidence in the Provisional government.

FROM THE RECOLLECTIONS BY MIKHAIL KEDROV, MEMBER OF THE MILITARY ORGANISATION UNDER THE RSDLP(B) CENTRAL COMMITTEE, ABOUT THE JUNE EVENTS IN PETROGRAD

A fine day.... The sun shining brightly. The streets and avenues are flooded by festive, exultant crowds, all walking to the Field of Mars, the centre of the event. A regular sea of banners, hundreds of them bearing short but extremely expressive inscriptions: "Down with the Counter-revolution!", "Down with the Black Hundred Fourth State Duma and the State Council!", "Down with Ten Capitalist Ministers!", "We Are Against the Offensive!" and "All Power to the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies!"

FROM THE STATEMENT BY THE BOLSHEVIK FACTION AND THE BUREAU OF UNITED INTERNATIONALIST SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS AT THE FIRST ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS OF WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' DEPUTIES ON THE ISSUE OF THE OFFENSIVE LAUNCHED ON THE FRONT

June 19, 1917

... The June 18 demonstration in Petrograd graphically showed that the vanguard of the Russian Revolution—the Petrograd proletariat and the Petrograd revolutionary garrison—displayed their solidarity with the point of view expressed on this issue by our Party.

Today Kerensky's order, dated June 16, has also been published.

We declare that all responsibility for this policy rests with the Provisional government and the Menshevik and SR parties supporting it. We reiterate the statement we made on the first day of the Congress. Together with the vast majority of Petrograd workers and soldiers we are expressing our profound conviction that the war can be ended, not by an offensive on the front, but solely through revolutionary efforts of the working people of all nations.

THE REVOLUTION IS DEVELOPING. THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY'S COURSE TOWARDS AN ARMED UPRISING

The June offensive of the Russian troops failed, so the Provisional government made an attempt to lay the blame on the Bolsheviks. But the masses, particularly in Petrograd, began to realise more and more clearly who was actually to blame for the fact that the imperialist war went on. On July 4, a huge demonstration, in which over 500,000 people participated, flooded the streets of the Russian capital.

The demonstrators elected representatives from among their ranks, who handed a demand to the Central Executive Committee (CEC) of Soviets that the Soviets take over all power. But the CEC led by the SRs and the Mensheviks did not wish to do so; betraying the interests of the working people, they made a deal with the Provisional government on the dispersal of the demonstration. In Petrograd, military cadets and Cossacks opened fire at the demonstrators.

The troops loyal to the Provisional government were transported from the front to the capital. The government began reprisals. General searches were made in workers' quarters; weapons were taken away, and Bolsheviks were arrested. An order was issued to find Lenin and shoot him on the spot. So Lenin had to go into hiding.

The counter-revolutionaries, backed by the SRs and the Mensheviks, were out to break the Bolshevik Party. The counter-revolution raged all over the country. Revolutionary regiments were sent from Petrograd to the front or disbanded. Kerensky introduced capital punishment at the frontlines. General Lavr Kornilov, a prime organiser of counter-revolutionary massacres, was appointed to the post of Commander-in-Chief.

The Mensheviks and the SRs, who up to now pursued a policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie, openly sided with the counter-revolutionaries. The Soviets, dominated by the SRs and the Mensheviks, turned into an appendage of the bourgeois government. The period of dual power had come to an end. All state power was seized by the bourgeoisie. The stage of the peaceful development of the revolution had also ended. At Lenin's suggestion, the slogan, "All Power to the Soviets!", was temporarily abandoned.

From July 26 to August 3, 1917, the Sixth Congress of the Bolshevik Party worked in Petrograd; it was vigilantly guarded by armed workers, because of the threat of counter-revolutionary attacks.

Having discussed the changes which occurred in the country, the Congress came to the conclusion that now power could be assumed by the proletariat and the peasant poor only through an armed uprising and the overthrow of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The Congress adopted a number of decisions, all of them aimed at the chief goal—to prepare the mass of workers and poor peasants for an armed uprising, for a battle to bring the socialist revolution to victory.

The bourgeoisie, having seized power, tried to strangle the workers by hunger, while undermining industry; it engaged in preparing a counter-revolutionary coup d'état and planned to establish a military dictatorship. On August 25, General Kornilov started a mutiny with that purpose in view, ordering the counter-revolutionary troops to take Petrograd. However, by the end of August, armed workers, soldiers and sailors, called on by the Bolsheviks, suppressed the mutiny.

The rout of the counter-revolutionary mutiny organised by General Kor-

nilov radically changed the situation in the country. Broad sections of the people—workers, peasants, soldiers at the frontlines and the toiling people of the country's oppressed nationalities—realised that the bourgeoisie and the landlords were striving to perpetuate their domination and that the SRs and the Mensheviks were in fact siding with these exploiter classes. The overwhelming majority of the people became convinced that the road to liberation indicated by the Bolshevik Party was the right one. So the working people recalled the SR and Menshevik Deputies from the Soviets, and replaced them with Bolsheviks. The number of Deputies who did not belong to any particular party, but who consistently supported the Bolsheviks, also increased rapidly in the Soviets. On August 31, 1917, the Petrograd Soviet adopted, for the first time since its formation, a Bolshevik resolution on handing power to the Soviets. These now became combat organs of the working people's struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution. The Soviets in many other cities, whose composition had also been changed—over 250 Soviets throughout the country—followed suit, coming in support of the slogan, "All Power to the Soviets!", which was once again advanced by the Bolsheviks.

The country was going through a national crisis. The complete economic dislocation, in which Russia was plunged by the bourgeoisie and the landlords, made the struggle on the part of all sections of the working people still more acute. Workers began to drive the plant and factory owners away and take the management of the enterprises into their own hands. Peasants seized the landlords' land and agricultural implements and divided them up among themselves. Soldiers removed reactionary commanders and elected others in their place, whom they trusted. In many army units soldiers refused to go on waging the imperialist war, and came out in support of the Bolshevik demand to negotiate peace. Sailors in the Baltic Fleet sided completely with the Bolsheviks. The working people of oppressed nationalities also took part in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and the landlords in alliance with the Russian workers and peasants.

Under the crisis conditions, vacillations increased among the petty-bourgeois parties of Mensheviks and SRs. The Menshevik Party split up into several groups. The left-wing Menshevik Internationalists sought to unite with the Bolshevik Party. A left wing emerged within the Socialist-Revolutionary Party as well, which subsequently declared itself an independent party. The left SRs tried to win over those sections of the peasantry who were disappointed with the policy pursued by the SR Party and regarded the revolutionary proletariat as their ally.

Counter-revolutionary forces took urgent measures against the mounting revolution. Cossack regiments which remained loyal to the Provisional government were ordered to the capital. Decision was also taken to remove the revolutionary-minded garrison units from Petrograd.

The SRs and the Mensheviks also tried to prevent the consolidation and mobilisation of revolutionary forces. Having promised to convene the Second Congress of Soviets, they were in fact afraid to do so, because they had lost the majority in the Soviets as a result of their policy of betrayal and support for the bourgeoisie and the landlords. Therefore the leaders of these parties made a deal with the Provisional government and decided to deceive the people by convening a so-called Democratic Conference instead of the Congress of Soviets. They thought up this trick to divert the working people from revolutionary struggle.

The Democratic Conference was opened on September 14. Special pains had been taken to ensure that representatives of revolutionary forces made up an insignificant minority. A Provisional Council of the Russian Republic (this is how the Russian state was called as from September 1, 1917), was

formed. The Mensheviks and the SRs gave it the name of a Pre-Parliament in an attempt to create an impression that a parliamentary system was introduced in Russia. Lenin regarded the whole venture of the Democratic Conference a trap and demanded that the Pre-Parliament be boycotted.

From July to October 1917 Lenin, who was all that time in hiding, sent several letters to the Bolshevik Party Central Committee, in which he analysed changes that had occurred in the situation in the country and called on the Party to organise an uprising. He also drafted an approximate plan for an armed uprising, summarising the experience of the world revolutionary movement, primarily that gained in the two bourgeois-democratic revolutions in Russia (of 1905-1907 and of February 1917).

On October 10, the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party adopted a decision on launching urgent preparations for an armed uprising. A special organ—the Military-Revolutionary Committee (the MRC)—was set up under the Petrograd Soviet to carry out the uprising in the capital. The Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party also elected a Military-Revolutionary Centre, which was incorporated into the MRC and was assigned the leading role in the uprising. Lenin headed the leadership; he insisted that the uprising be started before the opening of the Second Congress of Soviets, which was set for October 25, in order to forestall the counter-revolutionaries who expected it to begin on the day the Congress was opened.

V.I. LENIN

From the Article

ON SLOGANS

Too often has it happened that, when history has taken a sharp turn, even progressive parties have for some time been unable to adapt themselves to the new situation and have repeated slogans which had formerly been correct but had now lost all meaning—lost it as "suddenly" as the sharp turn in history was "sudden".

Something of the sort seems likely to recur in connection with the slogan calling for the transfer of all state power to the Soviets. That slogan was correct during a period of our revolution—say, from February 27 to July 4—that has now passed irrevocably. It has patently ceased to be correct now. Unless this is understood, it is impossible to understand anything of the urgent questions of the day. Every particular slogan must be deduced from the totality of specific features of a definite political situation. And the political situation in Russia now, after July 4, differs radically from the situation between February 27 and July 4.

During that period of the revolution now past, the so-called "dual power" existed in the country, which both materially and formally expressed the indefinite and transitional condi-

tion of state power. Let us not forget that the issue of power is the fundamental issue of every revolution.

At that time state power was unstable. It was shared, by voluntary agreement, between the Provisional Government and the Soviets. The Soviets were delegations from the mass of free—i.e., not subject to external coercion—and armed workers and soldiers. What *really mattered* was that arms were in the hands of the people and that there was no coercion of the people from without. That is what opened up and ensured a peaceful path for the progress of the revolution. The slogan "All Power Must Be Transferred to the Soviets" was a slogan for the next step, the immediately feasible step, on that peaceful path of development. It was a slogan for the peaceful development of the revolution, which was possible and, of course, most desirable between February 27 and July 4 but which is absolutely impossible.

Apparently, not all the supporters of the slogan "All Power Must Be Transferred to the Soviets" have given adequate thought to the fact that it was a slogan for peaceful progress of the revolution—peaceful not only in the sense that nobody, no class, no force of any importance, would then (between February 27 and July 4) have been able to resist and prevent the transfer of power to the Soviets. That is not all. Peaceful development would then have been possible, even in the sense that the struggle of classes and parties *within* the Soviets could have assumed a most peaceful and painless form, provided full state power had passed to the Soviets in good time.

The latter aspect of the matter has similarly not yet received adequate attention. In their class composition, the Soviets were organs of the movement of the workers and peasants, a ready-made form of their dictatorship. Had they possessed full state power, the main shortcoming of the petty-bourgeois groups, their chief sin, that of trusting the capitalists, really would have been overcome, would have been criticised by the experience of their own measures. The change of classes and parties in power could have proceeded peacefully within the Soviets, provided the latter wielded exclusive and undivided power. The contact between all the Soviet parties and the people could have remained stable and unimpaired. One must not forget for a single moment that only such a close contact between the Soviet parties and the people, freely growing in extent and depth, could have helped peacefully to get rid of the illusion of petty-bourgeois compromise with the bour-

geoisie. The transfer of power to the Soviets would not, and could not, in itself have changed the correlation of classes; it would in no way have changed the petty-bourgeois nature of the peasants. But it would have taken a big and timely step towards separating the peasants from the bourgeoisie, towards bringing them closer to, and then uniting them with, the workers.

This is what might have happened had power passed to the Soviets at the proper time. That would have been the easiest and the most advantageous course for the people. This course would have been the least painful, and it was therefore necessary to fight for it most energetically. Now, however, this struggle, the struggle for the timely transfer of power to the Soviets, has ended. A peaceful course of development has become impossible. A non-peaceful and most painful course has begun.

The turning-point of July 4 was precisely a drastic change in the objective situation. The unstable condition of state power has come to an end. At the decisive point, power has passed into the hands of the counter-revolution. The development of the parties on the basis of the collaboration of the petty-bourgeois Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik parties and the counter-revolutionary Cadets has brought about a situation in which both these petty-bourgeois parties have virtually become participants in and abettors of counter-revolutionary butchery. As the struggle between parties developed, the unreasoning trust which the petty bourgeoisie put in the capitalists led to their deliberate support of the counter-revolutionaries. The development of party relations has completed its cycle. On February 27, all classes found themselves united against the monarchy. After July 4, the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, working hand in glove with the monarchists and the Black Hundreds, secured the support of the petty-bourgeois Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, partly by intimidating them, and handed over real state power to the Cavaignacs, the military gang, who are shooting insubordinate soldiers at the front and smashing the Bolsheviks in Petrograd.

The slogan calling for the transfer of state power to the Soviets would now sound quixotic or mocking. Objectively it would be deceiving the people....

And the political substance is that power can no longer be taken peacefully. It can be obtained only by winning a decisive struggle against those actually in power at the moment,

namely, the military gang, the Cavaignacs, who are relying for support on the reactionary troops brought to Petrograd and on the Cadets and monarchists.

The substance of the situation is that these new holders of state power can be defeated only by the revolutionary masses, who, to be brought into motion, must not only be led by the proletariat, but must also turn their backs on the Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik parties, which have betrayed the cause of the revolution....

All agitational work among the people must be reorganised to ensure that it takes account of the specific experience of the present revolution, and particularly of the July days, i.e., that it clearly points to the real enemy of the people, the military clique, the Cadets and the Black Hundreds, and that it definitely unmasks the petty-bourgeois parties, the Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik parties, which played and are playing the part of butcher's aides.

All agitational work among the people must be reorganised so as to make clear that it is absolutely hopeless to expect the peasants to obtain land as long as the power of the military clique has not been overthrown, and as long as the Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik parties have not been exposed and deprived of the people's trust. That would be a very long and arduous process under the "normal" conditions of capitalist development, but both the war and economic disruption will tremendously accelerate it. These are "accelerators" that may make a month or even a week equal to a year....

No one, no force, can overthrow the bourgeois counter-revolutionaries except the revolutionary proletariat. Now, after the experience of July 1917, it is the revolutionary proletariat that must independently take over state power. Without that the victory of the revolution is *impossible*. The only solution is for power to be in the hands of the proletariat, and for the latter to be supported by the poor peasants or semi-proletarians. And we have already indicated the factors that can enormously accelerate this solution.

Soviets may appear in this new revolution, and indeed are bound to, but *not* the present Soviets, not organs collaborating with the bourgeoisie, but organs of revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie. It is true that even then we shall be in favour of building the whole state on the model of the Soviets. It is not a question of Soviets in general, but of combating the *present* counter-revolution and the treachery of the *present* Soviets.

The substitution of the abstract for the concrete is one of the greatest and most dangerous sins in a revolution. The present Soviets have failed, have suffered complete defeat, because they are dominated by the Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik parties. At the moment these Soviets are like sheep brought to the slaughterhouse and bleating pitifully under the knife. The Soviets *at present* are powerless and helpless against the triumphant and triumphing counter-revolution. The slogan calling for the transfer of power to the Soviets might be construed as a "simple" appeal for the transfer of power to the present Soviets, and to say that, to appeal for it, would now mean deceiving the people. Nothing is more dangerous that deceit.

The cycle of development of the class and party struggle in Russia from February 27 to July 4 is complete. A new cycle is beginning, one that involves not the old classes, not the old parties, not the old Soviets, but classes, parties and Soviets rejuvenated in the fire of struggle, tempered, schooled and refashioned by the process of struggle.

Written in mid-July 1917

RESOLUTION OF THE SIXTH CONGRESS OF THE RSDLP(B)

(Excerpt)

...The slogan of turning power over to the Soviets, which was put forward by the first upsurge of the revolution and which our Party propagandised, was a slogan for the revolution's peaceful development, for a painless transition of power from the bourgeoisie into the hands of the workers and peasants and for a gradual overcoming of petty-bourgeois illusions.

At present, peaceful development of the revolution and a painless transition of power to the Soviets are no longer possible, since power has actually passed into the hands of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

At the present moment a correct slogan can only be the complete liquidation of the dictatorship of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. Only the revolutionary proletariat, on condition that the peasant poor support it, has enough strength

to fulfil this task, which is absolutely indispensable for a new upsurge....

August 1917

The defeat of Kornilov's mutiny led to the massive Bolshevisation of the Soviets. The turning point in the broad movement to make the Soviets Bolshevik was the adoption of the resolution "On Power" by an enlarged session of the Petrograd Soviet on August 31.

V.I. LENIN

THE BOLSHEVIKS MUST ASSUME POWER

A Letter to the Central Committee and the Petrograd and Moscow Committees of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.)

The Bolsheviks, having obtained a majority in the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies of both capitals, can and *must* take state power into their own hands.

They can because the active majority of revolutionary elements in the two chief cities is large enough to carry the people with it, to overcome the opponent's resistance, to smash him, and to gain and retain power. For the Bolsheviks, by immediately proposing a democratic peace, by immediately giving the land to the peasants and by re-establishing the democratic institutions and liberties which have been mangled and shattered by Kerensky, will form a government which *nobody* will be able to overthrow.

The majority of the people are *on our side*. This was proved by the long and painful course of events from May 6 to August 31 and to September 12. The majority gained in the Soviets of the metropolitan cities *resulted* from the people coming over *to our side*. The wavering of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks and the increase in the number of internationalists within their ranks prove the same thing.

We are concerned now not with the "day", or "moment" of insurrection in the narrow sense of the word. That will be only decided by the common voice of those who are *in contact* with the workers and soldiers, with the *masses*.

The point is to make the *task* clear to the Party. The present task must be an armed *uprising* in Petrograd and Moscow (with its region), the seizing of power and the overthrow of the government....

We must remember and weigh Marx's words about insurrection, "*Insurrection is an art*", etc.

* * *

It would be naïve to wait for a "formal" majority for the Bolsheviks. No revolution ever waits for *that*. Kerensky and Co. are not waiting either, and are preparing to surrender Petrograd. It is the wretched waverings of the Democratic Conference that are bound to exhaust the patience of the workers of Petrograd and Moscow! History will not forgive us if we do not assume power now.

There is no apparatus? There is an apparatus—the Soviets and the democratic organisations. The international situation *right* now, on *the eve* of the conclusion of a separate peace between the British and the Germans, is *in our favour*. To propose peace to the nations right now means *to win*.

By taking power both in Moscow and in Petrograd *at once* (it doesn't matter which comes first, Moscow may possibly begin), we shall win *absolutely and unquestionably*.

Written September
12-14 (25-27), 1917

V.I. LENIN

FROM *MARXISM AND INSURRECTION*

A Letter to the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.)

One of the most vicious and probably most widespread distortions of Marxism resorted to by the dominant "socialist" parties is the opportunist lie that preparation for insurrection, and generally the treatment of insurrection as an art, is "Blanquism".

Bernstein, the leader of opportunism, has already earned himself unfortunate fame by accusing Marxism of Blanquism, and when our present-day opportunists cry about Blanquism they do not improve on or "enrich" the meagre "ideas" of Bernstein one little bit.

Marxists are accused of Blanquism for treating insurrection as an art! Can there be a more flagrant perversion of the truth, when not a single Marxist will deny that it was Marx who expressed himself on this score in the most definite, precise and categorical manner, referring to insurrection spe-

cifically as an *art*, saying that it must be treated as an art, that you must *win* the first success and then proceed from success to success, never ceasing the *offensive* against the enemy, taking advantage of his confusion, etc., etc.?

To be successful, insurrection must rely not upon conspiracy and not upon a party, but upon the advanced class. That is the first point. Insurrection must rely upon a *revolutionary upsurge of the people*. That is the second point. Insurrection must rely upon that *turning-point* in the history of the growing revolution when the activity of the advanced ranks of the people is at its height, and when the *vacillations* in the *ranks of the enemy and in the ranks of the weak, half-hearted and irresolute friends of the revolution* are strongest. That is the third point. And these three conditions for raising the question of insurrection distinguish *Marxism from Blanquism*.

Once these conditions exist, however, to refuse to treat insurrection as an *art* is a betrayal of Marxism and a betrayal of the revolution.

To show that it is precisely the present moment that the Party *must* recognise as the one in which the entire course of events has objectively placed *insurrection* on the order of the day and that insurrection must be treated as an art, it will perhaps be best to use the method of comparison, and to draw a parallel between July 3-4 and the September days.

On July 3-4 it could have been argued, without violating the truth, that the correct thing to do was to take power, for our enemies would in any case have accused us of insurrection and ruthlessly treated us as rebels. However, to have decided on this account in favour of taking power at that time would have been wrong, because the objective conditions for the victory of the insurrection did not exist.

(1) We still lacked the support of the class which is the vanguard of the revolution.

We still did not have a majority among the workers and soldiers of Petrograd and Moscow. Now we have a majority in both Soviets. It was created *solely* by the history of July and August, by the experience of the "ruthless treatment" meted out to the Bolsheviks, and by the experience of the Kornilov revolt.

(2) There was no country-wide revolutionary upsurge at that time. There is now, after the Kornilov revolt; the situation in the provinces and assumption of power by the Soviets in many localities prove this.

(3) At that time there was no *vacillation* on any serious

political scale among our enemies and among the irresolute petty bourgeoisie. Now the vacillation is enormous. Our main enemy, Allied and world imperialism (for world imperialism is headed by the "Allies"), *has begun to waver* between a war to a victorious finish and a separate peace directed against Russia. Our petty-bourgeois democrats, having clearly lost their majority among the people, have begun to vacillate enormously, and have rejected a bloc, i.e., a coalition, with the Cadets.

(4) Therefore, an insurrection on July 3-4 would have been a mistake; we could not have retained power either physically or politically. We could not have retained it physically even though Petrograd was at times in our hands, because at that time our workers and soldiers would not have *fought and died* for Petrograd. There was not at the time that "savageness", or fierce hatred *both of* the Kerenskys *and of* the Tseretelis and Chernovs. Our people had still not been tempered by the experience of the persecution of the Bolsheviks in which the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Menshеviks participated.

We could not have retained power politically on July 3-4 because, *before the Kornilov revolt*, the army and the provinces could and would have marched against Petrograd.

Now the picture is entirely different.

We have the following of the majority of a *class*, the vanguard of the revolution, the vanguard of the people, which is capable of carrying the masses with it.

We have the following of the *majority* of the people, because Chernov's resignation, while by no means the only symptom, is the most striking and obvious symptom that the peasants *will not receive land* from the Socialist-Revolutionaries' bloc (or from the Socialist-Revolutionaries themselves). And that is the chief reason for the popular character of the revolution.

We are in the advantageous position of a party that knows for certain which way to go at a time when *imperialism as a whole* and the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary bloc as a whole are vacillating in an incredible fashion.

Our victory is assured, for the people are close to desperation, and we are showing the entire people a sure way out; we demonstrated to the entire people during the "Kornilov days" the value of our leadership, and then *proposed* to the politicians of the bloc a compromise, *which they rejected*, although there is no let-up in their vacillations.

All the objective conditions exist for a successful insurrection. We have the exceptional advantage of a situation in which

only our victory in the insurrection can put an end to that most painful thing on earth, vacillation, which has worn the people out; in which only our victory in the insurrection will give the peasants land immediately; a situation in which *only our* victory in the insurrection can *foil* the game of a separate peace directed against the revolution—foil it by publicly proposing a fuller, juster and earlier peace, a peace that will *benefit* the revolution.

Finally, our Party alone *can*, by a victorious insurrection, save Petrograd; for if our proposal for peace is rejected, if we do not secure even an armistice, then *we* shall become "defencists", we shall place ourselves *at the head of the war parties*, we shall be the *war party par excellence*, and we shall conduct the war in a truly revolutionary manner. We shall take away all the bread and boots from the capitalists. We shall leave them only crusts and dress them in bast shoes. We shall send all the bread and footwear to the front.

And then we shall save Petrograd....

...In order to treat insurrection in a Marxist way, i.e., as an art we must at the same time, without losing a single moment, organise a *headquarters* of the insurgent detachments, distribute our forces, move the reliable regiments to the most important points, surround the Alexandrinsky Theatre,* occupy the Peter and Paul Fortress,** arrest the General Staff and the government, and move against the officer cadets and the Savage Division those detachments which would rather die than allow the enemy to approach the strategic points of the city. We must mobilise the armed workers and call them to fight the last desperate fight, occupy the telegraph and the telephone exchange at once, move *our* insurrection headquarters to the central telephone exchange and connect it by telephone with all the factories, all the regiments, all the points of armed fighting, etc.

Of course, this is all by way of example, only to *illustrate* the fact that at the present moment it is impossible to remain loyal to Marxism, to remain loyal to the revolution *unless insurrection is treated as an art.*

Written September 13-14 (26-27), 1917

*The Alexandrinsky Theatre in Petrograd, the place where the Democratic Conference was convened—*Ed.*

**The Peter and Paul Fortress in Petrograd, the place of confinement for political prisoners under tsarism. It had a large arsenal and was strategically important in the October 1917 armed uprising—*Ed.*

In the autumn of 1917 the working-class movement was characterised by a high level of class self-consciousness. Workers interfered in production regulation and established their own control over production.

In September, a wave of strikes swept across the country. In the small hours of September 24, a general strike of railwaymen broke out. The Bolshevik Party came in support of the strikers and called on all the proletariat to back them. The September strike of railwaymen played a tremendous part in making broad sections of the working class side with the Bolsheviks.

FROM THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE MEETING OF RAILWAYMEN AT MOSCOW'S NORTHERN RAILWAY STATION ON JOINING THE ALL-RUSSIA STRIKE OF RAILWAYMEN

September 21, 1917

...We railway workers cannot go on working while hungry and therefore everybody who understands the importance of railways today must support the just demand of the railwaymen.

We do not understand the actions of the Provisional government at all, and so we resign all responsibility for any consequences that may arise. The railwaymen have exhausted all the means of resolving the issue in a peaceful way.

Vinogradov,
Chairman of the Meeting
Fofanov,
Secretary

V. I. LENIN

ADVICE OF AN ONLOOKER

I am writing these lines on October 8 and have little hope that they will reach Petrograd comrades by the 9th. It is possible that they will arrive too late, since the Congress of the Northern Soviets has been fixed for October 10. Nevertheless, I shall try to give my "Advice of an Onlooker" in the event that the probable action of the workers and soldiers of Petrograd and of the whole "region" will take place soon but has not yet taken place.

It is clear that all power must pass to the Soviets. It should be equally indisputable for every Bolshevik that proletarian revolutionary power (or Bolshevik power—which is now one and the same thing) is assured of the utmost sympathy and unreserved support of all the working and exploited people all over the world in general, in the belligerent countries in particular, and among the Russian peasants especially. There

is no need to dwell on these all too well known and long established truths.

What must be dealt with is something that is probably not quite clear to all comrades, namely, that in practice the transfer of power to the Soviets now means armed uprising. This would seem obvious, but not everyone has or is giving thought to the point. To repudiate armed uprising now would mean to repudiate the key slogan of Bolshevism (All Power to the Soviets) and proletarian revolutionary internationalism in general.

But armed uprising is a *special* form of political struggle, one subject to special laws to which attentive thought must be given. Karl Marx expressed this truth with remarkable clarity when he wrote that "*insurrection is an art quite as much as war*".

Of the principal rules of this art, Marx noted the following:

(1) *Never play* with insurrection, but when beginning it realise firmly that you must *go all the way*.

(2) Concentrate a *great superiority of forces* at the decisive point and at the decisive moment, otherwise the enemy, who has the advantage of better preparation and organisation, will destroy the insurgents.

(3) Once the insurrection has begun, you must act with the greatest *determination*, and by all means, without fail, take the *offensive*. "The defensive is the death of every armed rising."

(4) You must try to take the enemy by surprise and seize the moment when his forces are scattered.

(5) You must strive for *daily* successes, however small (one might say hourly, if it is the case of one town), and at all costs retain "*moral superiority*".

Marx summed up the lessons of all revolutions in respect to armed uprising in the words of "Danton, the greatest master of revolutionary policy yet known: *de l'audace, de l'audace, encore de l'audace*".

Applied to Russia and to October 1917, this means: a simultaneous offensive on Petrograd, as sudden and as rapid as possible, which must without fail be carried out from within and from without, from the working-class quarters and from Finland, from Revel and from Kronstadt, an offensive of the *entire* navy, the concentration of a *gigantic superiority* of forces over the 15,000 or 20,000 (perhaps more) of our "bourgeois guard" (the officers' schools), our "Vendeé troops" (part of the Cossacks), etc.

Our *three* main forces—the fleet, the workers, and the army

units—must be so combined as to occupy without fail and to hold *at any cost*: (a) the telephone exchange; (b) the telegraph office; (c) the railway stations; (d) and above all, the bridges.

The *most determined* elements (our "shock forces" and *young workers*, as well as the best of the sailors) must be formed into small detachments to occupy all the more important points and to *take part* everywhere in all important operations, for example:

to encircle and cut off Petrograd; to seize it by a combined attack of the sailors, the workers, and the troops—a task which requires *art and triple audacity*;

to form detachments from the best workers, armed with rifles and bombs, for the purpose of attacking and surrounding the enemy's "centres" (the officers' schools, the telegraph office, the telephone exchange, etc.). Their watchword must be: "*Better die to a man than let the enemy pass!*"

Let us hope that if action is decided on, the leaders will successfully apply the great precepts of Danton and Marx.

The success of both the Russian and the world revolution depends on two or three days' fighting.

Written on October 8(21), 1917

FROM THE DOCUMENTS OF THE MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.)

October 10(23), 1917

Resolution

(Written by V.I. Lenin)

The Central Committee recognises that the international position of the Russian revolution (the revolt in the German navy which is an extreme manifestation of the growth throughout Europe of the world socialist revolution; the threat of peace by the imperialists with the object of strangling the revolution in Russia) as well as the military situation (the indubitable decision of the Russian bourgeoisie and Kerensky and Co. to surrender Petrograd to the Germans), and the fact that the proletarian party has gained a majority in the Soviets—all this, taken in conjunction with the peasant revolt and the swing of popular confidence towards our Party (the elections in Moscow), and, finally, the obvious preparations being made for a second Kornilov revolt (the withdrawal of troops from Petro-

grad, the dispatch of Cossacks to Petrograd, the encircling of Minsk by Cossacks, etc.)—all this places the armed uprising on the order of the day.

Considering therefore that an armed uprising is inevitable, and that the time for it is fully ripe, the Central Committee instructs all Party organisations to be guided accordingly, and to discuss and decide all practical questions (the Congress of Soviets of the Northern Region, the withdrawal of troops from Petrograd, the action of our people in Moscow and Minsk, etc.) from this point of view.

V.I. LENIN

LETTER TO CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Comrades,

I am writing these lines on the evening of the 24th. The situation is critical in the extreme. In fact it is now absolutely clear that to delay the uprising would be fatal.

With all my might I urge comrades to realise that everything now hangs by a thread; that we are confronted by problems which are not to be solved by conferences or congresses (even congresses of Soviets), but exclusively by peoples, by the masses, by the struggle of the armed people.

The bourgeois onslaught of the Kornilovites and the removal of Verkhovsky* show that we must not wait. We must at all costs, this very evening, this very night, arrest the government, having first disarmed the officer cadets (defeating them, if they resist), and so on.

We must not wait! We may lose everything!

The value of the immediate seizure of power will be the defence of the *people* (not of the congress, but of the people, the army and the peasants in the first place) from the Kornilovite government, which has driven out Verkhovsky and has hatched a second Kornilov plot.

Who must take power?

That is not important at present. Let the Revolutionary Military Committee do it, or "some other institution" which will declare that it will relinquish power only to the true representatives of the interests of the people, the interests of the army (the immediate proposal of peace), the interests of the peasants

*A.I. Verkhovsky—Minister of War in the Provisional government in August-October 1917. In 1919 joined the Red Army. In the 1920s lectured at the Military Academy of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army.

(the land to be taken immediately and private property abolished), the interests of the starving.

All districts, all regiments, all forces must be mobilised at once and must immediately send their delegations to the Revolutionary Military Committee and to the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks with the insistent demand that under no circumstances should power be left in the hands of Kerensky and Co. until the 25th—not under any circumstances; the matter must be decided without fail this very evening, or this very night.

History will not forgive revolutionaries for procrastinating when they could be victorious today (and they certainly will be victorious today), while they risk losing much tomorrow, in fact, they risk losing everything.

If we seize power today, we seize it not in opposition to the Soviets but on their behalf.

The seizure of power is the business of the uprising; its political purpose will become clear after the seizure.

It would be a disaster, or a sheer formality, to await the wavering vote of October 25. The people have the right and are in duty bound to decide such questions not by a vote, but by force; in critical moments of revolution, the people have the right and are in duty bound to give directions to their representatives, even their best representatives, and not to wait for them.

This is proved by the history of all revolutions; and it would be an infinite crime on the part of the revolutionaries were they to let the chance slip, knowing that the *salvation of the revolution*, the offer of peace, the salvation of Petrograd, salvation from famine, the transfer of the land to the peasants depend upon them.

The government is tottering. It must be *given the deathblow* at all costs.

To delay action is fatal.

Written on October 24
(November 6), 1917

Section Two

The Victory of the Socialist Revolution and the Establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Russia

THE OCTOBER ARMED UPRISING IN PETROGRAD

The armed uprising in Petrograd began on October 24. It was carried out very effectively, according to a carefully worked-out plan. On October 25 it was consummated in the victory of the revolutionary forces.

The bourgeois Provisional government was overthrown.

October 25 (November 7, New Style), 1917 has gone down in history as the day of triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

On the night of October 23, a plan for defeating the revolutionary forces submitted by Kerensky was approved at a session of the Provisional government. On October 24, the Provisional government began its offensive. A unit of military cadets seized the printing shop where the Bolshevik newspapers *Rabochy Put* (The Worker's Path) and *Soldat* (The Soldier) were printed.

FROM THE APPEAL OF THE MILITARY-REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE TO THE PEOPLE

October 24, 1917

Soldiers! Workers! Citizens!

The enemies of the people have launched an offensive at night. The Kornilovites in the Headquarters are engaged in drawing together military cadets and shock battalions from the nearby districts.... A treacherous blow is being hatched against the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. The newspapers *Rabochy Put* and *Soldat* have been closed. The printing shops have been sealed up. The campaign launched by the counter-revolutionary conspirators is aimed at the All-Russia Congress of Soviets on the eve of its convocation, against the Constituent Assembly, against the people. But the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies stands on guard to protect the revolution. The Military-Revolutionary Committee is busy organising a rebuff to the conspirators. The entire

Petrograd garrison and the Petrograd proletariat are ready to strike a crushing blow at the enemies of the people....

FROM THE REPORT PRINTED IN THE NEWSPAPER *RABOCHY I SOLDAT* ON THE OCTOBER 23, 1917 SESSION OF THE PETROGRAD SOVIET OF WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' DEPUTIES

October 25 (November 7), 1917

...The Soviet listened to the report on the activities of the Military-Revolutionary Committee, read by Comrade Antonov. The Military-Revolutionary Committee, he said, started its work on October 20, when its first plenary session took place. The Committee is an organ set up by the Petrograd proletariat and the Petrograd garrison. When establishing this organ, the Petrograd Soviet had in mind the actual protection, a real defence of the capital of the revolution. The Petrograd Soviet had to do everything it could to defend the capital and the revolution. The defence of the capital could not be left in the hands of a headquarters which was overtly and covertly connected with the counter-revolution.

When the Soviet took an irreconcilable stand, the government attempted to bring pressure to bear upon the garrison, by secretly disbanding it under the pretext of the "country's defence". But the Soviet rejected the attempt to remove the troops from the city and thus to weaken the revolutionary forces in the capital.

Speaking about the composition of the Military-Revolutionary Committee, the reporter pointed out that its members were chosen according to their capabilities, not on the principle of their Party membership.

Right after the Military-Revolutionary Committee was formed, signals began coming in from all sides about the need to introduce control and take a series of measures for the defence of the revolution. For example, workers from a printing-shop informed the Military-Revolutionary Committee that the printing shop had received an order from a Black Hundred organisation. In agreement with the printers' trade union, an instruction was immediately issued that in the future no suspicious contracts should be concluded without the Military-Revolutionary Committee's sanction. Then the workers and other employees of the Kronwerk Arsenal at the Peter and

Paul Fortress raised the question about the necessity of establishing control over the issue of weapons. At the present time, not a single rifle will be given out of the Arsenal without our Commissar knowing it. Our interference stopped the arming of military cadets: 10,000 rifles about to be sent to Novocherkassk were intercepted, as well as the weapons intended for various suspicious persons and organisations. People demand from all sides that Commissars be appointed. Control over the explosive depot, etc. was established at the Cartridge Factory. Our Commissars have been appointed to all the ammunition dumps. It goes without saying that they were fully recognised by workers and other employees everywhere.

It is widely known that the enemy attempted to make use of the Cossacks' religious procession, set for October 22, for counter-revolutionary purposes. We demanded that no armed demonstration should take place. So the procession was cancelled.

Commissars have been sent to all the military units. They are welcomed everywhere. Without their sanction, no order or instruction will be fulfilled. The military Headquarters has had proof that this was not just words: its orders on the issue of arms, automobiles, etc. were not obeyed. The military Headquarters has now discovered that the workers and the garrison have no confidence in it....

In the evening of October 24, the Military-Revolutionary Committee launched an offensive. An orderly from the CCRSDLP(B) was sent to Lenin who lived at a secret address. Lenin decided to go at once to the Smolny Institute, where the Headquarters of the uprising was situated.

On his arrival at the Smolny Institute, Lenin assumed command of the uprising.

TELEGRAM FROM COL. POLKOVNIKOV, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE PETROGRAD MILITARY DISTRICT, TO THE GENERAL HEADQUARTERS AND TO GEN. CHEREMISOV, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE NORTHERN FLEET, ON THE SITUATION IN PETROGRAD

October 25, 1917

The situation in Petrograd is menacing. There are no street demonstrations or disorder, but agencies and railway stations are seized one after another, and arrests are made. No orders are obeyed.

Military cadets on guard surrender without resistance; the Cossacks do not leave their barracks despite repeated orders.

Aware of my full responsibility before the country, I consider it my duty to report that the Provisional government can easily lose all power, and there is no guarantee that attempts will not be made to capture the government members.

10 hrs 15 min
Colonel *Polkovnikov*

TO THE CITIZENS OF RUSSIA!

The Provisional Government has been deposed. State power has passed into the hands of the organ of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies—the Revolutionary Military Committee, which heads the Petrograd proletariat and the garrison.

The cause for which the people have fought, namely, the immediate offer of a democratic peace, the abolition of landed proprietorship, workers' control over production, and the establishment of Soviet power—this cause has been secured.

Long live the revolution of workers, soldiers and peasants!

10 a.m., October 25, 1917

Revolutionary Military Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies

(Written by V.I. Lenin)

STATEMENT OF THE PETROGRAD MILITARY-REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE ON THE COURSE OF THE ARMED UPRISING AND ON THE OVERTHROW OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

October 25 (November 7), 1917

The Revolution Has Triumphed

All the railway stations, the Telegraph Office, the Telephone Exchange and the General Post-Office have been taken. The Winter Palace's and the Headquarters' telephone cable has been cut off. The State Bank has been taken over. The Winter Palace, the Headquarters and the nearby areas have been surrounded. The shock battalions have been dispersed; the military cadets paralysed. Armoured cars have gone over to the Revolutionary Committee. The Cossacks have refused to obey the

Provisional government. The Provisional government has been toppled. Power has passed into the hands of the Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

Power in Petrograd is in the hands of the Military-Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet. Soldiers and workers, who unanimously rose up in arms, have won out without any bloodshed. The Committee calls on the front and the rear not to succumb to provocations but to support the Petrograd Soviet and the new revolutionary government which will immediately propose a just peace, will give the land to the peasants and will convene the Constituent Assembly. Power in the localities has passed into the hands of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies.

The Military-Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet

By the evening of October 25, the Winter Palace had been surrounded. Realising that the situation was hopeless, Kerensky escaped from Petrograd on October 24, in a car belonging to the US military attaché. Combat operations aimed at capturing the Winter Palace by storm were led by members of the Military-Revolutionary Committee Nikolai Podvoisky, Vladimir Antonov-Ovseyenko and Grigory Chudnovsky.

Below we cite an excerpt from the recollections by V. Antonov-Ovseyenko about the seizure of the Winter Palace.

V. ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO

THE OCTOBER STORM

...By 9 o'clock in the evening, artillery at last began its fire from the Peter and Paul Fortress, from the *Aurora*; from under the arch of the General Headquarters, a military cadet armoured car machine-gunned Millionnaya Street from time to time, from which the Preobrazhensky Regiment and the Red Guard attacked the Winter Palace. The whole attack was by then very haphazard, but the number of the Provisional government's defenders quickly dwindled. First a Cossack Hundred left, and then the guns of the Mikhailovsky Military School were driven away. When the Palace came under artillery fire, the military cadets, who were in the Palace yard, began to surrender, too. The Women's Shock Battalion followed suit. They all laid down their arms on the pavement and walked along Millionnaya Street to their barracks.... Two or three times small groups of the attackers managed to penetrate into the

Winter Palace, but each time they were beaten back, and several of them were even taken prisoner by military cadets. At last, when we were sure that the numbers of the military cadets were rather small, Chudnovsky and I led the attackers into the Palace. The military cadets put up no resistance, so we got into the Palace's inner rooms without hindrance in search of the Provisional government.

Right in the next room we came upon a group of people who called themselves the Provisional government. They were all sitting around a table, white-faced and scared to death.

"In the name of the Military-Revolutionary Committee, you are arrested," I announced to them.

The former ministers surrendered their documents and pistols. I had some difficulty in placing guards around them. Sailors helped me to establish order, driving some suspicious characters out of the room. Chudnovsky compiled a list of the arrested, and we both signed it. All in all, there were 16 ministers here. Everybody was present except Kerensky. One of the arrested ministers told us that Kerensky fled Petrograd as early as 11 o'clock in the morning.

This news about Kerensky aroused angry shouting in the crowd. Voices were heard:

"Shoot all members of the Provisional government here and now!"

Only our presence and the interference of the cool-minded Bolshevik sailors saved the ill-starred former ministers from being lynched on the spot.

THE SECOND CONGRESS OF SOVIETS THE FIRST DECREES OF SOVIET POWER

On October 25 and 26, the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies was held. It was also attended by delegates from a number of uyezd and gubernia Soviets of Peasants' Deputies. The majority of Deputies at the Congress were Bolsheviks. Among representatives from other parties there were Left SRs and only a small group of Right SRs and Mensheviks. The Congress turned all power into the hands of the Soviets, adopted the Decree on Peace and the Decree on Land, both of them written by Lenin, and formed the first Soviet government with Lenin at the head.

At its very first session the Congress approved the appeal "To Workers, Soldiers and Peasants!" written by Lenin and read out by Anatoly Lunacharsky.

V.I. LENIN

TO WORKERS, SOLDIERS AND PEASANTS!

Written on October 25 (November 7), 1917

The Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies has opened. The vast majority of the Soviets are represented at the Congress. A number of delegates from the Peasants' Soviets are also present. The mandate of the compromising Central Executive Committee has terminated. Backed by the will of the vast majority of the workers, soldiers and peasants, backed by the victorious uprising of the workers and the garrison which has taken place in Petrograd, the Congress takes power into its own hands.

The Provisional Government has been overthrown. The majority of the members of the Provisional Government have already been arrested.

The Soviet government will propose an immediate democratic peace to all the nations and an immediate armistice on all fronts. It will secure the transfer of the land of the landed proprietors, the crown and the monasteries to the peasant committees without compensation; it will protect the rights of the soldiers by introducing complete democracy in the army; it will establish workers' control over production; it will ensure the convocation of the Constituent Assembly at the time appointed; it will see to it that bread is supplied to the cities and prime necessities to the villages; it will guarantee all the nations inhabiting Russia the genuine right to self-determination.

The Congress decrees: all power in the localities shall pass to the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, which must guarantee genuine revolutionary order.

The Congress calls upon the soldiers in the trenches to be vigilant and firm. The Congress of Soviets is convinced that the revolutionary army will be able to defend the revolution against all attacks of imperialism until such time as the new government succeeds in concluding a democratic peace, which it will propose directly to all peoples. The new government will do everything to fully supply the revolutionary army by means of a determined policy of requisitions and taxation of the propertied classes, and also will improve the condition of soldiers' families.

The Kornilov men—Kerensky, Kaledin and others—are attempting to bring troops against Petrograd. Several detach-

ments, whom Kerensky had moved by deceiving them, have come over to the side of the insurgent people.

Soldiers, actively resist Kerensky the Kornilovite! Be on your guard!

Railwaymen, hold up all troop trains dispatched by Kerensky against Petrograd!

Soldiers, workers in factory and office, the fate of the revolution and the fate of the democratic peace is in your hands!

Long live the revolution!

The All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies

The Delegates from the Peasants' Soviets

In the unanimously adopted Decree on Peace, which was written by Lenin, the Second Congress of Soviets declared that the Soviet government completely renounce all the annexationist treaties concluded by the governments of the landlords and capitalists, and proposed that all the belligerent nations and their governments immediately start negotiations for a general, just and democratic peace.

The Decree on Peace declared war to be "the greatest of crimes against humanity" and solemnly announced the Soviet people's determination to sign a peace treaty without delay and on terms that would be equally just for all the nations, without any annexations and indemnities. So the people of Soviet Russia, having assumed power, first of all began a struggle for peace, inspiring the whole of mankind by its example.

V.I. LENIN

DECREE ON PEACE

Adopted by the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets on October 26 (November 8), 1917

The workers' and peasants' government, created by the Revolution of October 24-25 and basing itself on the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, calls upon all the belligerent peoples and their governments to start immediate negotiations for a just, democratic peace.

By a just or democratic peace, for which the overwhelming majority of the working class and other working people of all the belligerent countries, exhausted, tormented and racked by the war, are craving—a peace that has been most definitely and insistently demanded by the Russian workers and peasants

ever since the overthrow of the tsarist monarchy—by such a peace the government means an immediate peace without annexations (i.e., without the seizure of foreign lands, without the forcible incorporation of foreign nations), and without indemnities.

The Government of Russia proposes that this kind of peace be immediately concluded by all the belligerent nations, and expresses its readiness to take all the resolute measures now, without the least delay, pending the final ratification of all the terms of such a peace by authoritative assemblies of the people's representatives of all countries and all nations.

In accordance with the sense of justice of democrats in general, and of the working classes in particular, the government conceives the annexation or seizure of foreign lands to mean every incorporation of a small or weak nation into a large or powerful state without the precisely, clearly and voluntarily expressed consent and wish of that nation, irrespective of the time when such forcible incorporation took place, irrespective also of the degree of development or backwardness of the nation forcibly annexed to the given state, or forcibly retained within its borders, and irrespective, finally, of whether this nation is in Europe or in distant, overseas countries.

If any nation whatsoever is forcibly retained within the borders of a given state, if, in spite of its expressed desire—no matter whether expressed in the press, at public meetings, in the decisions of parties, or in protests and uprisings against national oppression—it is not accorded the right to decide the forms of its state existence by a free vote, taken after the complete evacuation of the troops of the incorporating or, generally, of the stronger nation and without the least pressure being brought to bear, such incorporation is annexation, i.e., seizure and violence.

The government considers it the greatest of crimes against humanity to continue this war over the issue of how to divide among the strong and rich nations the weak nationalities they have conquered, and solemnly announces its determination immediately to sign terms of peace to stop this war on the terms indicated, which are equally just for all nationalities without exception.

At the same time the government declares that it does not regard the above-mentioned peace terms as an ultimatum; in other words, it is prepared to consider any other peace terms, and insists only that they be advanced by any of the belligerent countries as speedily as possible, and that in the

peace proposals there should be absolute clarity and the complete absence of all ambiguity and secrecy.

The government abolishes secret diplomacy, and, for its part, announces its firm intention to conduct all negotiations quite openly in full view of the whole people. It will proceed immediately with the full publication of the secret treaties endorsed or concluded by the government of landowners and capitalists from February to October 25, 1917. The government proclaims the unconditional and immediate annulment of everything contained in these secret treaties insofar as it is aimed, as is mostly the case, at securing advantages and privileges for the Russian landowners and capitalists and at the retention, or extension, of the annexations made by the Great Russians.

Proposing to the governments and peoples of all countries immediately to begin open negotiations for peace, the government, for its part, expresses its readiness to conduct these negotiations in writing, by telegraph, and by negotiations between representatives of the various countries, or at a conference of such representatives. In order to facilitate such negotiations, the government is appointing its plenipotentiary representative to neutral countries.

The government proposes an immediate armistice to the governments and peoples of all the belligerent countries, and, for its part, considers it desirable that this armistice should be concluded for a period of not less than three months, i.e., a period long enough to permit the completion of negotiations for peace with the participation of the representatives of all peoples or nations, without exception, involved in or compelled to take part in the war, and the summoning of authoritative assemblies of the representatives of the peoples of all countries for the final ratification of the peace terms.

While addressing this proposal for peace to the governments and peoples of all the belligerent countries, the Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government of Russia appeals in particular also to the class-conscious workers of the three most advanced nations of mankind and the largest states participating in the present war, namely, Great Britain, France and Germany. The workers of these countries have made the greatest contributions to the cause of progress and socialism; they have furnished the great examples of the Chartist movement in England, a number of revolutions of historic importance effected by the French proletariat, and, finally, the heroic struggle against the Anti-Socialist Law in Germany and the prolonged, persistent and disciplined work of creating mass

proletarian organisations in Germany, a work which serves as a model to the workers of the whole world. All these examples of proletarian heroism and historical creative work are a pledge that the workers of the countries mentioned will understand the duty that now faces them of saving mankind from the horrors of war and its consequences, that these workers, by comprehensive, determined, and supremely vigorous, action, will help us to conclude peace successfully, and at the same time emancipate the labouring and exploited masses of our population from all forms of slavery and all forms of exploitation.

By the Decree on Land, which was also written by Lenin and which declared that all landed estates were confiscated, the people received more than 150 million hectares of land. For the first time in history, peasants were freed from their huge debts to the state, to the landlords, usurers and kulaks, from annual payments of the rental, and from expenditures to buy the land. In this way, the land was actually nationalised and became the property of the state as a whole.

The Decree on Land included the Peasant Mandate on the Land, which was compiled by the SRs on the basis of 242 peasant mandates from different localities. The SRs, who were in power before the October Revolution, did nothing at all to implement the Mandate, though in words they declared themselves to be advocates of the peasants' interests. The Soviets led by Bolsheviks made the Peasant Mandate a law on the very first day of their coming to power. Alongside demands to abolish private ownership of the land and confiscate the landed estates without any compensation, the Mandate proclaimed an equitable land use, which did not comply with the point of view the Bolshevik Party had on this issue. Objecting to those who accused the Party for its support of the Mandate, Lenin told the Congress: "As a democratic government, we cannot ignore the decision of the masses of the people, even though we may disagree with it. In the fire of experience, applying the decree in practice, and carrying it out locally, the peasants will themselves realise where the truth lies... The point is that the peasants should be firmly assured that there are no landlords in the countryside, that they themselves must decide all questions, and that they themselves must arrange their own lives."

V.I. LENIN

DECREE ON LAND

From the Report on Land Delivered at the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets on October 26 (November 8), 1917

(1) Landed proprietorship is abolished forthwith without any compensation.

(2) The landed estate, as also all crown, monastery, and church lands, with all their livestock, implements, buildings and everything pertaining thereto, shall be placed at the disposal of the volost land committees and the uyezd Soviets of Peasants'

Deputies pending the convocation of the Constituent Assembly.

(3) All damage to confiscated property, which henceforth belongs to the whole people, is proclaimed a grave crime to be punished by the revolutionary courts. The uyezd Soviets of Peasants' Deputies shall take all necessary measures to assure the observance of the strictest order during the confiscation of the landed estates, to determine the size of estates, and the particular estates subject to confiscation, to draw up exact inventories of all property confiscated and to protect in the strictest revolutionary way all agricultural enterprises transferred to the people, with all buildings, implements, livestock, stocks of produce, etc.

(4) The following peasant Mandate, compiled by the newspaper *Izvestia Vserossiiskogo Soveta Krestyanskikh Deputatov* from 242 local peasant mandates and published in No. 88 of that paper (Petrograd, No. 88, August 19, 1917), shall serve everywhere to guide the implementation of the great land reforms until a final decision on the latter is taken by the Constituent Assembly.

Peasant Mandate on the Land

"The land question in its full scope can be settled only by the popular Constituent Assembly.

"The most equitable settlement of the land question is to be as follows:

"(1) *Private ownership of land shall be abolished for ever*; land shall not be sold, purchased, leased, mortgaged, or otherwise alienated.

"All land, whether *state, crown, monastery, church, factory, entailed, private, public, peasant, etc., shall be confiscated without compensation* and become the property of the whole people, and pass into the use of all those who cultivate it.

"Persons who suffer by this property revolution shall be deemed to be entitled to public support only for the period necessary for adaptation to the new conditions of life.

"(2) All mineral wealth—ore, oil, coal, salt, etc., and also all forests and waters of state importance, shall pass into the exclusive use of the state. All the small streams, lakes, woods, etc., shall pass into the use of the communes, to be administered by the local self-government bodies.

"(3) Lands on which *high-level scientific* farming is practised—orchards, plantations, seed plots, nurseries, hothouses, etc.—*shall not be divided up, but shall be converted into model farms*, to be turned over for exclusive use *to the state or to the communes*, depending on the size and importance of such lands.

"Household land in towns and villages, with orchards and vegetable gardens, shall be reserved for the use of their present owners, the size of the holdings, and the size of tax levied for the use thereof, to be determined by law.

"(4) Stud farms, government and private pedigree stock and poultry farms, etc., shall be confiscated and become the property of the whole people, and pass into the exclusive use of the state or a commune, depending on the size and importance of such farms.

"The question of compensation shall be examined by the Constituent Assembly.

"(5) All livestock and farm implements of the confiscated estates shall pass into the exclusive use of the state or a commune, depending on their size and importance, and no compensation shall be paid for this.

"The farm implements of peasants with little land shall not be subject to confiscation.

"(6) The right to use the land shall be accorded to all citizens of the Russian state (without distinction of sex) desiring to cultivate it by their own labour, with the help of their families, or in partnership, but only as long as they are able to cultivate it. The employment of hired labour is not permitted.

"In the event of the temporary physical disability of any member of a village commune for a period of up to two years, the village commune shall be obliged to assist him for this period by collectively cultivating his land until he is again able to work.

"Peasants who, owing to old age or ill-health, are permanently disabled and unable to cultivate the land personally shall lose their right to the use of it but, in return, shall receive a pension from the state.

"(7) Land tenure shall be on an equality basis, i.e., the land shall be distributed among the working people in conformity with a labour standard or a subsistence standard, depending on local conditions.

"There shall be absolutely no restriction on the forms of land tenure—household, farm, communal, or co-operative, as shall be decided in each individual village and settlement.

"(8) All land, when alienated, shall become part of the national land fund. Its distribution among the peasants shall be in charge of the local and central self-government bodies, from democratically organised village and city communes, in which there are no distinctions of social rank, to central regional government bodies.

"The land fund shall be subject to periodical redistribution, depending on the growth of population and the increase in the productivity and the scientific level of farming.

"When the boundaries of allotments are altered, the original nucleus of the allotment shall be left intact.

"The land of the members who leave the commune shall revert to the land fund; preferential right to such land shall be given to the near relatives of the members who have left, or to persons designated by the latter.

"The cost of fertilisers and improvements put into the land, to the extent that they have not been fully used up at the time the allotment is returned to the land fund, shall be compensated.

"Should the available land fund in a particular district prove inadequate for the needs of the local population, the surplus population shall be settled elsewhere.

"The state shall take upon itself the organisation of resettlement and shall bear the cost thereof, as well as the cost of supplying implements, etc.

"Resettlement shall be effected in the following order: landless peasants desiring to resettle, then members of the commune who are of vicious habits, deserters, and so on, and, finally, by lot or by agreement."

The entire contents of this Mandate, as expressing the absolute will of the vast majority of the class-conscious peasants of all Russia, is proclaimed a provisional law, which, pending the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, shall be carried

into effect as far as possible immediately, and as to certain of its provisions with due gradualness, as shall be determined by the uyezd Soviets of Peasants' Deputies.

(5) The land of ordinary peasants and ordinary Cossacks shall not be confiscated....

DECISION TO FORM THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' GOVERNMENT

October 26 (November 8), 1917

The All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies resolves:

To establish a provisional workers' and peasants' government, to be known as the Council of People's Commissars, to govern the country until the Constituent Assembly is convened. The management of individual branches of state activity is entrusted to commissions whose members shall ensure the fulfilment of the programme announced by the Congress, and shall work in close contact with mass organisations of men and women workers, sailors, soldiers, peasants and office employees. Governmental authority is vested in a collegium of the chairmen of those commissions, i.e., the Council of People's Commissars.

Control over the activities of the People's Commissars with the right to replace them is vested in the All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies and its Central Executive Committee....

(Written by V. I. Lenin)

JOHN REED

LENIN TAKES THE FLOOR

John Reed (1887-1920) was a talented American author and journalist, one of the founders of the US Communist Party, a genuine and great friend of the Land of Soviets, who came to Russia as a war correspondent. His stay in revolutionary Russia and his meetings with Lenin helped him to become a convinced revolutionary and a passionate propagator of communist ideas. He wrote *Ten Days Which Shook the World*, a book truthfully describing the birth of a new kind of state—the state of workers and peasants; it was highly appraised by Lenin. John Reed died in Russia on October 17, 1920; he was buried in Red Square near the Kremlin wall.

Here is an excerpt from his famous book.

It was just 8.40 when a thundering wave of cheers announced the entrance of presidium, with Lenin—great Lenin—

among them. A short, stocky figure, with a big head set down in his shoulders, bald and bulging. Little eyes, a snubbish nose, wide, generous mouth, and heavy chin; clean-shaven now, but already beginning to bristle with the wellknown beard of his past and future. Dressed in shabby clothes, his trousers much too long for him. Unimpressive, to be the idol of a mob, loved and revered as perhaps few leaders in history have been. A strange popular leader—a leader purely by virtue of intellect; colourless, humourless, uncompromising and detached, without picturesque idiosyncrasies—but with the power of explaining profound ideas in simple terms, of analysing a concrete situation. And combined with shrewdness, the greatest intellectual audacity....

Now Lenin, gripping the edge of the reading stand, letting his little winking eyes travel over the crowd as he stood there waiting, apparently oblivious to the long-rolling ovation, which lasted several minutes. When it finished, he said simply, "We shall now proceed to construct the Socialist order!" Again that overwhelming human roar.

"The first thing is the adoption of practical measures to realise peace.... We shall offer peace to the peoples of all the belligerent countries upon the basis of the Soviet terms—no annexations, no indemnities, and the right of self-determination of peoples. At the same time, according to our promise, we shall publish and repudiate the secret treaties.... The question of War and Peace is so clear that I think that I may, without preamble, read the project of a Proclamation to the Peoples of All the Belligerent Countries...".

His great mouth, seeming to smile, opened wide as he spoke; his voice was hoarse—not unpleasantly so, but as if it had hardened that way after years and years of speaking—and went on monotonously, with the effect of being able to go on forever.... For emphasis he bent forward slightly. No gestures. And before him, a thousand simple faces looking up in intent adoration....

There was something quiet and powerful in all this, which stirred the souls of men. It was understandable why people believed when Lenin spoke....

Kerensky who secretly left Petrograd organised an offensive against the capital by the Mounted Corps of General Pyotr Krasnov. The chief battles were fought at the Pulkovo Heights. On October 30, the revolutionary detachments of workers, soldiers and sailors commanded by Vladimir Antonov-Ovseyenko and Pavel Dybenko defeated the Kerensky-Krasnov troops.

FROM THE REPORT OF THE PETROGRAD MILITARY-REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE ON THE DEFEAT OF KERENSKY'S TROOPS

The troops of Kerensky have been defeated. The whole Kerensky's Headquarters with General Krasnov and Voitinsky at the head has been put under arrest.... Kerensky, clad in a sailor's uniform, has managed to flee.... The Cossacks who sided with the revolutionary troops, are looking for him in order to pass him over into the hands of the Military-Revolutionary Committee. Kerensky's adventure can be regarded as ended. The Revolution keeps its triumphant pace.

REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SOVIET POWER IS SPREADING THROUGHOUT RUSSIA

The victory of the armed uprising in Petrograd triggered the formation of local bodies of Soviet power all across the country. Lenin called the period from October 25, 1917 to February 1918 a period of the triumphant march of Soviet power.

Central Russia played an important role in the victory of the socialist revolution. In most gubernias of this part of Russia, Bolsheviks enjoyed great authority. In those localities where they were in the majority in the Soviets, Soviet power was established without resorting to weapons. It was set up peacefully in 80 out of Russia's 97 large cities. Armed force had to be applied, however, in those localities where the Soviets were dominated by the Mensheviks and the SRs.

The most desperate resistance to the establishment of Soviet power was put up in areas populated by Cossacks, for there were many kulaks there. By February, the pockets of counter-revolution on the Don, in the Southern Urals and in the Ukraine had all been liquidated.

The struggle for Soviet power was also very acute in the multinational districts of the Volga Region, the Central Asia and Transcaucasia, where the proletariat was insignificant in numbers, and so the reactionary clergy and bourgeois nationalists, siding with Russian counter-revolutionaries, had great influence.

By the end of February 1918, bourgeois power still persisted in the regions occupied by the German and Austrian troops (Lithuania and parts of Latvia, Western Byelorussia and the Western Ukraine), in Georgia and in Armenia, and in some of the country's remote areas.

FROM THE MANIFESTO OF THE MILITARY-REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET OF WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' DEPUTIES

November 3, 1917

Comrades and Citizens,

After a five-day bloody battle, the enemies of the people who raised their arms against the Revolution have been dealt a crushing blow. They have surrendered and laid down their weapons. Victory has been won through the blood of our staunch fighters—soldiers and workers. People's power—the power of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies—has now been established in Moscow.

In Ivanovo-Voznesensk, like in many other cities where the Soviets were already won over by Bolsheviks in the period of preparation for the socialist revolution, Soviet power was established in a peaceful way.

Below an extract is cited from the recollections by Dmitry Furmanov (1891-1926), a CPSU member since 1918, who took an active part in the October 1917 events in Ivanovo-Voznesensk. During the civil war he was a Commissar in Chapayev's Division. Subsequently Furmanov became famous as the author of the well-read novels *Chapayev* and *The Mutiny*.

D. FURMANOV

THE DAYS NEVER TO BE FORGOTTEN

On the 25th of October, a session of the Soviet was set for 6 p.m. It has escaped my memory what particular issues were on the agenda, but I well remember the feeling of elation reigning at that session.... Indeed, today is the 25th.... In the morning ... or maybe at night, the news will come.... It may well be that even at this very moment, guns are thundering over there, machine-guns are rattling away, and workers are marching in close formation, and fraternal blood is flowing in streams.... It would be a great relief just to know for certain....

Three times I tried to get through to Moscow, and all to no avail. At last I was connected with the *Izvestia* editorial board and heard the unforgettable words:

"The Provisional government has been toppled!"

I was almost out of my senses with joy: rushing into the hall, I interrupted the discussion. A dead silence ensured, and I, articulating each word with emphasis, shouted for the Deputies to hear:

"Comrades, the Provisional government has been toppled!"

The hall roared. Everybody shouted something to one another, shook each other's hands, stood up on the benches....

Our workers were overjoyed at the news; they gathered in large crowds at factories and listened to the Deputies of the Soviets; they demanded more and more information sending their delegates to the Soviet, and marched in the nearby streets, singing songs and carrying banners.

The railwaymen sent their delegations to the Soviet to swear on their behalf that they would work selflessly and were prepared to give up their very lives for Soviet power.

The regiment, in full battle formation, with the rows of shining bayonets, had already marched under our windows several times, shouting that it would shoot at any mob which dared as much as raise its finger against the Soviet.

Attempts by the counter-revolutionaries to prevent the establishment of people's power by armed resistance were quenched in many cities resolutely and promptly.

THE NEWSPAPER *PRAVDA*

ON THE VICTORY OF SOVIET POWER IN SARATOV

On October 28, power was assumed by the Soviets. The school of military ensigns, students and officers, put up resistance. They barricaded themselves in the Duma, where they stayed all night, but surrendered after an artillery barrage....

The destiny of the Revolution largely depended on the stand taken by the army, on whom would it side with. Therefore the struggle to win over the army, the mass of the soldiers, became of major importance in the course of the Revolution.

Over the first few months of the socialist revolution, military units of the North-Western, Western and South-Western fronts went over to the side of Soviet power. The Kaledin mutiny on the Don was suppressed.

FROM THE REPORT BY GENERAL MALYAVIN, ACTING COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE WESTERN FRONT, TO GENERAL DUKHONIN AT THE GENERAL HEADQUARTERS

The army ... is completely demoralised. All power has gradually been assumed by the Bolsheviks, and the officers are at a loss whose orders they are to obey. The Front has lost its fighting spirit; instructions on the troop movement I issue are of course either postponed or just ignored; the Front Headquarters works under the control of the Revolutionary

Committee, and everything which is not to the liking of the Committee is barred....

In the national districts, the proletarian revolution came up against stubborn resistance on the part of the bourgeois-nationalist governments, formed before the October Revolution. In the Ukraine, the counter-revolutionary *Tsentralna Rada* (Central Council) held sway, declaring its power over the Ukraine on November 1, 1917.

An important event in the struggle for the power of the Soviets in the Ukraine was the First All-Ukrainian Congress, which opened in Kharkov on December 11 and proclaimed Soviet power in the Ukraine. The Congress formed a Soviet government—the People's Secretariat. The Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Republic recognised the Ukrainian Soviet government as the sole and legitimate government of the Ukraine and resolved to render it immediate assistance in the struggle against the counter-revolution.

TELEGRAM OF DECEMBER 12, 1917 FROM THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS OF THE RSFSR TO THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT OF THE UKRAINE

Greeting the formation in Kharkov of the genuine popular power of the Soviets in the Ukraine, and seeing the worker and peasant Soviet as the true government of the Ukrainian People's Republic, the Council of People's Commissars promises the new government of the fraternal Ukraine its full and all-out support in the struggle for peace, as well as in transferring all the land, factories and banks to the working people of the Ukraine.

In December 1917-January 1918, the whole of the Ukraine was swept by armed uprisings against the *Tsentralna Rada* and for the establishment of Soviet power. In this struggle, the Russian people came to assistance of the Ukrainian people. On January 26 the Soviet troops liberated Kiev. By the beginning of February 1918, Soviet power won out all over the Ukraine. The *Tsentralna Rada* fled to Zhitomir. The Ukrainian government moved to Kiev.

FROM THE APPEAL BY THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SOVIETS OF WORKERS', SOLDIERS' AND PEASANTS' DEPUTIES OF THE UKRAINE TO THE RESIDENTS OF KIEV

February 17, 1918

Comrades and Citizens,

After the violent gunfire and desperate fighting in the streets

of Kiev, our troops have taken the capital of the Ukrainian Republic.

The head of the overthrown government called us "Northern barbarians and intruders" in his speeches and branded us as Great-Russia's imperialists; but it was all a big lie, the same as another statement by the *Tsentralna Rada*—about it being a genuine bearer of the dreams and hopes of the whole Ukrainian people.

It was not some kind of Northern barbarians, nor foreign invaders who fought against the *Rada*, which pursued a policy of conciliation with the Ukrainian, Russian and foreign bourgeoisie and which betrayed its own people by signing a disgraceful peace with Austrian and German imperialists; it was us, the representatives of the proletariat and the peasant poor of the Ukraine. The troops of the Russian Federation were our true allies in the struggle against our sworn internal enemy—the Ukrainian nationalist-minded intelligentsia and the groups of the urban bourgeoisie in the city and the kulaks in the countryside hiding behind its back.

Long Live the Free Ukraine, liberated from all kinds of lords, even if they are Ukrainians by birth!

Long Live the World's Worker-Peasant Revolution!

Long Live Socialism!

At the end of 1917 and the beginning of 1918, Soviet power triumphed in the whole of Moldavia. However, as a result of the intervention of Romania, Moldavia was split up. Romanian interventionists, backed by the Entente and the Austro-German bloc, seized Bessarabia, the territory between the Dniester and the Prut. Only on the left bank of the Dniester was there a possibility of establishing a socialist national state system of the Moldavian people. On October 12, 1924, the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was formed in the framework of the Ukrainian SSR.

The working people of right-bank Bessarabia were not reconciled to the occupation regime and began a vigorous struggle for their national and social liberation.

STATEMENT BY THE KISHINEV SOVIET OF WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' DEPUTIES ON THE VICTORY OF THE REVOLUTION IN KISHINEV

The Executive Committee of the Kishinev Soviet disarmed, with the assistance of revolutionary soldiers, the shock battalion billeted in the city. It was disbanded. The revolutionary forces did not meet serious resistance, because successful propaganda work had been carried out among the battalion's soldiers.

THE NEWSPAPER *PRAVDA*

ON THE STRENGTHENING OF SOVIET POWER IN TURKESTAN

On October 31, 1917, the armed uprising of soldiers and Tashkent workers ended in victory. In the wake of Tashkent, Soviet power won practically all over Turkestan and Kazakhstan.

In Turkestan, the power of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies has taken firm root. The decrees are being successfully put into practice. The army is being rebuilt according to democratic principles. The Moslems are quiet. The Moslem proletariat renders support to Soviet power.

Pravda, January 29, 1918

PROCLAMATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE SOVIET STATE'S NATIONALITIES' POLICY AND THE INITIAL MOVES TO IMPLEMENT THEM

It was already declared by the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets in its appeal "To Workers, Soldiers and Peasants!" on October 25, 1917, that Soviet power "will guarantee all the nations inhabiting Russia the genuine right to self-determination". On November 2, 1917, the Council of People's Commissars (CPC) proclaimed the Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia, in which it was announced that the peoples of the country had been liberated from national oppression, and the chief principles of their mutual relations were formulated. On November 20, 1917, the CPC solemnly declared, in its appeal "To All the Worker Moslems of Russia and the East", that since that moment all the customs and beliefs, and all the national and cultural agencies of these peoples were free and inviolable, and that the entire might of the Soviets was standing guard to defend and protect the rights of all Russia's nations. The appeal also said that Soviet power broke all secret treaties, concluded by the tsarist government and confirmed by the Provisional government, on the seizure of Constantinople (now Istanbul) and the division of Persia and Turkey; and that the peoples of the East must arise to the struggle against imperialism and must become masters of their own fate.

The Soviet government granted independence to the Central Asian states—the Bokhara Emirate and the Khiva Khanate, which had been under the protectorate of tsarist Russia; the Soviet government was also the first to recognise the right of Poland to self-determination and independent existence.

In December 1917, the Soviet government recognised the independence of the Ukraine, by giving consent to its secession and establishing federative relations with it.

In the same month, the CPC and the All-Russia Central Executive Committee approved a decree recognising the state independence of Finland.

These principles of the nationalities' policy of Soviet power were also reflected in many other enactments issued by the Soviet government.

On January 3, 1918, the ARCEC approved the Declaration of Rights of

the Working and Exploited People, written by Lenin. The Declaration proclaimed that power in the country was vested, in all its entirety, in the Soviets; it also confirmed the Decree on Peace, the Decree on Land and other decrees, and approved the Soviet government's foreign policy. On January 5, the Constituent Assembly was opened, and the All-Russia CEC proposed that it ratify the Declaration. However, the majority of places in the Constituent Assembly belonged to right SRs, because the elections to it were held in November 1917, when a considerable part of the country's population, especially in the districts far removed from the capital and industrial centres, had not yet had enough time to correctly assess the historical revolutionary changes which had occurred in Russia. This counter-revolutionary majority refused even to discuss the Declaration and openly opposed Soviet power and the will of the overwhelming majority of the people.

On January 6, 1918, the All-Russia CEC dissolved the Constituent Assembly, which expressed the interests of the bourgeoisie. Working people all over the country met this act with acclaim.

On January 10, 1918, the Third All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies opened in Petrograd, and the Third All-Russia Congress of Peasants' Deputies, which at that time sat in session, joined it. The united All-Russia Congress of Soviets approved the policy pursued by the Soviet government and adopted the Declaration of Rights of the Working and Exploited People. This Declaration expressed the genuine will of the working classes for the first time in history; it confirmed their power and set the goal of abolishing the exploitation of man by man, building socialism and eliminating classes.

FROM DECLARATION OF RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLES OF RUSSIA

November 2 (15), 1917

...The Council of People's Commissars has resolved to put the following principles at the basis of its activity on the issue of the nationalities of Russia:

(1) Equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia.

(2) The right of the peoples of Russia to free self-determination, up to secession and the formation of an independent state.

(3) The revoking of all and every national and national-religious privilege and restriction.

(4) Free development of national minorities and ethnographic groups residing in the territory of Russia.

Specific decrees pertaining thereto are to be formulated immediately after the setting up of a commission on nationality affairs....

On November 23 (December 6), 1917, the Sejm of Finland proclaimed Finland an independent state. The CPC of the RSFSR, in accordance with the Leninist principles of nationalities' policy, recognised Finland's independence.

RESOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS ON THE REPUBLIC OF FINLAND

December 18 (31), 1917

In answer to the appeal of the Finnish government to recognise the independence of the Republic of Finland, the Council of People's Commissars, in complete accord with the principles of [the right of] nations to self-determination, decides:

To approach the CEC with the following proposals:

(a) to recognise the state independence of the Republic of Finland,

and (b) to form, by agreement with the Finnish government, a special commission from representatives of both parties to elaborate practical measures stemming from Finland's secession from Russia.

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS OF THE WORKING AND EXPLOITED PEOPLE

(Adopted by the Third All-Russia Congress of Soviets)

January 12 (25), 1918

I. 1. Russia is hereby proclaimed a Republic of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. All power, centrally and locally, is vested in these Soviets.

2. The Russian Soviet Republic is established on the principle of a free union of free nations, as a federation of Soviet national republics.

II. Its fundamental aim being to abolish all exploitation of man by man, to completely eliminate the division of society into classes, to mercilessly crush the resistance of the exploiters, to establish a socialist organisation of society and to achieve the victory of socialism in all countries, the Third All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies further resolves:

1. In effecting the socialisation of land, private ownership of land is hereby abolished; all land is proclaimed the property of the whole people and is handed over to the working masses without compensation on the basis of equitable division giving right of use only.

All forests, mineral wealth and waters of national impor-

tance, and all live-stock and appurtenances, model farms and agricultural enterprises are proclaimed national property.

2. The Soviet laws on workers' control and on the Supreme Economic Council are hereby confirmed for the purpose of guaranteeing the power of the working people over the exploiters and as a first step towards the complete conversion of the factories, mines, railways, and other means of production and transport into the property of the workers' and peasants' state.

3. The conversion of all banks into the property of the workers' and peasants' state is hereby confirmed as one of the conditions for the emancipation of the working people from the yoke of capital.

4. For the purpose of abolishing the parasitic sections of society and organising the economy, universal labour conscription is hereby instituted.

5. To ensure the sovereign power of the working people, and to eliminate all possibility of the restoration of the power of the exploiters, the arming of the working people, the creation of a socialist Red Army of workers and peasants and the complete disarming of the propertied classes are hereby decreed.

III. 1. Expressing its firm determination to wrest mankind from the clutches of finance capital and imperialism, which have in this most criminal of wars drenched the world in blood, the Third Congress of Soviets whole-heartedly endorses the policy pursued by Soviet power of denouncing the secret treaties, organising most extensive fraternisation with the workers and peasants of the armies in the war, and achieving, by the working people, at all costs, by revolutionary means, a democratic peace without annexations and indemnities and on the basis of the free self-determination of nations.

2. With the same end in view, the Third Congress of Soviets insists on a complete break with the barbarous policy of bourgeois civilisation, which has built the prosperity of the exploiters belonging to a few chosen nations on the enslavement of hundreds of millions of working people in Asia, in the colonies in general, and in the small countries.

The Third Congress of Soviets welcomes the policy of the Council of People's Commissars in proclaiming the complete independence of Finland, commencing the evacuation of troops from Persia, and proclaiming freedom of self-determination for Armenia.

The Third Congress of Soviets regards the Soviet law on the cancellation of the loans contracted by the governments

of the Tsar, the landowners and the bourgeoisie as a first blow struck at international banking, finance capital, and expresses the conviction that Soviet power will firmly pursue this path until the international workers' uprising against the yoke of capital has completely triumphed.

IV. The Third All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies considers that now that the people are waging the last fight against their exploiters, there can be no place for exploiters in any government body. Power must be vested wholly and entirely in the working people and their authorised representative bodies—the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies.

At the same time, endeavouring to create a really free and voluntary, and therefore all the more firm and stable, union of the working classes of all the nations of Russia, the Third Congress of Soviets confines its own task to setting up the fundamental principles of a federation of Soviet Republics of Russia, while leaving it to the workers and peasants of each nation to decide independently at their own authoritative Congress of Soviets whether they wish to participate in the federal government and in the other federal Soviet institutions, and on what terms.

MEASURES FOR CREATING A STATE APPARATUS AND ORGANISING ARMED DEFENCE OF SOVIET RUSSIA

After the overthrow of the Provisional government and formation of the Soviet government headed by Lenin, the process of destroying the old state apparatus and creating a new Soviet state apparatus began.

That process took place in the setting of a sharp class struggle. The Constitutional-Democrats, Mensheviks and SRs, backed by the imperialist states' diplomatic missions, organised sabotage among the officials.

The fact that there were no skilled new cadres which could replace them in the administrative apparatus made things very difficult. The RSDLP(B) and the Soviet government called on workers and soldiers to take up the state's administration. The gigantic work involved in establishing a proletarian state machinery was in the main accomplished in the matter of some two or three months.

Bourgeois newspapers were all absolutely sure that the Bolsheviks could not organise state administration by simply relying on workers' assistance. The same opinion had been voiced by the Black Hundred newspaper *Novoye Vremya* (New Time) before the October Revolution. Yet the workers successfully mastered the art of running the country, despite all the difficulties they had to face.

THE BOURGEOIS NEWSPAPER *NOVOYE VREMYA* ON THE WORKERS' "INCAPABILITY" OF ADMINISTERING THE STATE

October 24, 1917

Let us imagine for a moment that the Bolsheviks win. Who will govern us then? Maybe some cooks?... Or firemen? Or stablemen? Or stokers? It could well happen that nannies will come running to sit on the State Council in the interim between sessions of diaper-washing. Well, who are they? Who are those statesmen? Maybe, some locksmiths will take care of the theatres, plumbers—of diplomatic matters, and joiners—of the Post and Telegraph offices? Can it really happen? By no means! Is it possible at all? History itself will provide a firm answer to this mad question set forth by the Bolsheviks.

GRIGORY PETROVSKY

HOW THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS WAS CREATED

Grigory Petrovsky (1878-1958) took an active part in the three Russian revolutions; after the October Revolution he was appointed to the post of People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the RSFSR.

Cited below is an excerpt from his recollections about the first few days of activity of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs.

On November 30, a decree was issued appointing me Commissar of Internal Affairs, so I took office immediately. I had to fight my way through. In the former ministry I met two assistants to the minister. They were indignant at my proposal that they continue working in the People's Commissariat: how dared I to even suggest such a wild thing to them! Only the guards, porters, messengers, and door-keepers remained with us....

There were heaps of unattended papers in the office, the desks and bookcases were all locked, and the keys had been taken home by the ministry's officials by way of protest. I had to take emergency measures. For a whole month we had to transport old officials to the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs under escort, until we had built a new apparatus. Soon we managed to staff the Commissariat's Board....

On December 10, we already started organising departments and sections of the Commissariat. We were engaged in collective work for the state. Our Commissariat dealt with a

wide range of extremely diverse matters. Of the greatest importance was the Department of Local Administration, which was in charge of general administrative management, instruction of the Soviets in localities and control over the implementation of decrees issued by the All-Russia CEC and the CPC.

On Lenin's proposal, the CPC decreed the setting up of a special state agency to fight the counter-revolution—the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission for Combatting Counter-Revolution, Sabotage and Speculation (*Cheka*) headed by Felix Dzerzhinsky.

Relying on the assistance and cooperation of the broad mass of the working people, the *Cheka* exposed and eliminated about five hundred counter-revolutionary organisations and conspiracies, and rendered harmless thousands of spies and other enemies of the Soviet state.

In 1922, the *Cheka* was reorganised into the State Political Board (the *GPU*) under the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs.

FROM THE MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS' SESSION ON THE SETTING UP OF THE ALL-RUSSIA EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSION FOR COMBATTING COUNTER-REVOLUTION, SABOTAGE AND SPECULATION

December 7, 1917

...9. Listened to: Comrade Dzerzhinsky's report on the organisation and composition of the commission to combat sabotage.

Resolved: to call the commission the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission for Combatting Counter-Revolution, Sabotage and Speculation under the Council of People's Commissars, and confirm it....

The Commission shall be vested with the following duties: (1) to curb and liquidate all counter-revolutionary and saboteur attempts and actions throughout Russia, whatever their origin, (2) to bring before the revolutionary tribunal all the saboteurs and counter-revolutionaries and work out special measures to fight them....

Felix Dzerzhinsky (1877-1926) was an outstanding figure in the revolutionary movement in Lithuania, Poland and Russia; he took an active part in the October Revolution. After the victory of the October Revolution he headed the *Cheka*. During the period of peaceful construction, while remaining at the head of the *Cheka*, Dzerzhinsky also held the posts of People's Commissar for Railways and Chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy; he was a candidate-member of the Central Committee Politbureau and Chairman of the Commission for Improving the Life of Children.

Cited below is an excerpt from the recollections of Sergei Uralov, an old Bolshevik Party member who worked in the *Cheka* with Dzerzhinsky.

THE KNIGHT OF THE REVOLUTION

In creating the *Cheka* apparatus, Felix Dzerzhinsky tried to enlist honest and courageous people, both Party members and non-party men, those who were utterly dedicated to the cause of the proletarian revolution....

Dzerzhinsky himself was very good at exposing enemies. At the slightest signal he rushed to forestall the impending danger, and it was his habit to judge people by deeds rather than by words. He taught us to rely constantly on the working people and to maintain close ties with them; and we always benefited by this advice.

Dzerzhinsky gave himself up unreservedly to the difficult and exhaustive work of defending the gains of Soviet power, not sparing his health or efforts. The lines from a letter he wrote to his sister from his first exile, keep coming to my mind: "I am just incapable of half-hating or half-loving. I cannot give away half of my soul. I shall either give it away entirely, or not give anything at all."

Those who worked with Dzerzhinsky for a long time, knew well his ability to combine severity towards the class enemy and boundless kindness towards working people. Being exceptionally honest himself, he demanded the same crystal honesty from us, too. I think everybody who worked with him remembers to this day how ruthlessly he castigated those who were slow in implementing Party directives or violated socialist legality....

Dzerzhinsky was a staunch revolutionary, a Marxist and a friend of Lenin's. Standing on guard of the Revolution, he fulfilled his historical mission in an inassuming manner, without any showing off, but with a fervour which overcame all obstacles and a firm belief in the victory of Lenin's great ideas.

Izvestia, September 10, 1962

It was necessary to organise the armed defence of the Soviet state. The task could not be solved through the efforts of the Red Guard detachments alone, for they were too small in numbers and not trained to fight off the enemy's regular troops. To defend the socialist Motherland, the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army was formed by a decree of the Soviet government.

FROM THE DECREE OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS OF JANUARY 15, 1918, ON THE ORGANISATION OF THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' RED ARMY

January 15 (28), 1918

(1) The Workers' and Peasants' Red Army shall be built from the most conscientious and organised elements of the working masses.

(2) Access to its ranks shall be open to all citizens of the Russian Republic aged not less than 18. Everybody who is prepared to give all his strength, his whole life to the defence of the gains of the October Revolution, the power of the Soviets and socialism, shall join the Red Army ranks. To do that, one must present recommendations from armed force committees or public democratic organisations standing on the platform of Soviet power, from Party or trade union organisations, or, at least, from two members of such organisations.

When joining the Red Army in whole army units, mutual guarantees and voting by the name shall be required.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin),
Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars

THE INITIAL STAGE OF BUILDING A SOCIALIST ECONOMY AND CULTURE

While creating a new state system, Soviet power at the same time led the working class's struggle to transform society according to socialist principles. As a result of the October 1917 Revolution, enterprises which prior to the Revolution belonged to the state of the landlords and capitalists, passed into the ownership of the people. Thus a socialist economic structure emerged. Still, during the first few months after the establishment of Soviet rule, the greater part of the means of production remained in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

In the mid-November 1917, Soviet power took over the State Bank, nationalised private banks and declared banking to be a state's monopoly. Simultaneously, all agreements on foreign loans, concluded by the tsar and the Provisional government, were repudiated, so the working people of Russia were freed from the financial bondage imposed upon them by international capital.

Capitalists put up desperate resistance to economic measures launched by the Soviet government. They concealed the stocks of raw materials and finished products, delayed the payment of wages to workers, and stopped work at the enterprises. All this was meant to disrupt production and cause economic derangement. The sabotage organised by capitalists could of course be broken through their immediate expropriation. But the proletariat, which had come

to power, lacked experience in managing the economy and had no economic agencies of their own that could take administration of the country's economy into their hands. Therefore Soviet power did not nationalise the whole industry at once, but only introduced workers' control at the private enterprises. This was vested in factory committees. By the early 1918, workers' control had been implemented at practically all industrial enterprises all over the country. Workers suppressed the sabotage of the capitalists, adjusted production processes back to normal, supervised the enterprises' financial matters and controlled the product sales. Thus they learned to manage production. In late November 1917, nationalisation of large-scale capitalist industry began. The transport, the merchant marine and foreign trade were also nationalised.

On December 2 (15), 1917, the Supreme Council of National Economy was established for the state administration of the economy. In the same month the People's Economic councils began to be set up in regions, gubernias and uyezds. The work of these economic bodies made it possible to start creating a socialist national economy.

In late 1917-early 1918, Soviet power took its first steps in cultural development. Important measures were implemented in the sphere of people's education: the People's Commissariat of Education was formed with Anatoly Lunacharsky at the head, school education was made free of charge, and the school was separated from the church.

REGULATIONS ON WORKERS' CONTROL

(Excerpt)

November 14 (27), 1917

1. In the interests of a planned regulation of the national economy in all industrial, trading, banking, agricultural, transport, and cooperative and production societies, etc., which employ hired labour or provide work to be done at home, Workers' Control is introduced over the production, purchases and sales of finished products and raw materials, as well as over their storage; the enterprises' financial operations shall also come under such control.

2. Workers' Control shall be exercised by all the workers of a given enterprise through their elective bodies, such as factory committees, councils of elders, etc., with representatives of the employees and the technical personnel included in them....

8. Decisions adopted by workers' control bodies shall be binding upon the owners of enterprises and can be cancelled only by enactments of higher bodies of workers' control.

On Behalf of the Government
of the Russian Republic,
Vl. Ulyanov (Lenin),
Chairman of the Council
of People's Commissars

DECREE OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CEC AND THE CPC ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF NATIONAL ECONOMY

December 2 (15), 1917

(1) The Supreme Council of National Economy shall be formed under the Council of People's Commissars.

(2) The Supreme Council of National Economy shall be concerned with the organisation of the national economy and finances. With this aim in view, the Council shall elaborate general norms and a plan for regulating the country's economic life, coordinate and unite activities of central and local regulating bodies (conferences on fuel, metal, and transport, the Central Foodstuffs Committee, etc.), the corresponding People's Commissariats (for Trade and Industry, Food, Agriculture, Finances, the Navy, etc.), the All-Russia Council of Workers' Control, and the corresponding activities of factory and trade union organisations of the working class.

(3) The Supreme Council of National Economy shall be vested with the right to confiscate, requisition, sequester and forcibly syndicate diverse branches of industry and trade, and take other measures in the sphere of production, distribution and state finances.

(4) All the existing bodies involved in economic regulation shall be subordinated to the Supreme Council of National Economy, which shall be vested with the right to reform them.

(5) The Supreme Council of National Economy shall be formed from: a) the All-Russia Council of Workers' Control, whose composition was determined by the Decree of November 14, 1917; b) representatives from all the People's Commissariats; c) invited experts with a deliberative vote.

(6) The Supreme Council of National Economy shall be divided into sections and departments (on fuel, metal, demobilisation, finances, etc.) with the range and sphere of activity of these departments and sections to be determined by the general meeting of the Council.

(7) The departments of the Supreme Council of National Economy shall engage in regulation of individual spheres of the national economy, and work out measures to be taken by the corresponding People's Commissariats.

(8) The Supreme Council of National Economy shall appoint from among its members a bureau consisting of 15 persons to coordinate the current work of the sections and depart-

ments and to fulfil the tasks requiring immediate attendance.

(9) All the bills and large-scale measures concerned with the regulation of the people's economy as a whole shall be submitted to the Council of People's Commissars via the Supreme Council of National Economy.

(10) The Supreme Council of National Economy shall unite and guide the work of local economic departments of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, including local Workers' Control bodies, as well as of local commissars of labour, of trade and industry, of food, etc.

In the absence of the corresponding economic departments, the Supreme Council of National Economy shall form its own local bodies.

Resolutions adopted by the Supreme Council of National Economy shall be binding upon the economic departments of local Soviets, which are the local bodies of the former.

The proletarian state tried to set the masses free from age-old spiritual slavery, and lead them out of darkness, illiteracy and religious quagmire. In checking the church's religious fanaticism and obscurantism, the Decree of the Soviet government on the Separation of the Church from the State and of the School from the Church was of great importance.

FROM THE DECREE OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS ON THE SEPARATION OF THE CHURCH FROM THE STATE AND OF THE SCHOOL FROM THE CHURCH

January 20 (February 2), 1918

1. The church shall be separated from the state.

2. It shall be forbidden, within the boundaries of the Republic, to issue any local laws or enactments which would hamper or limit the freedom of conscience, or accord any advantages or privileges in connection with citizens' religious affiliation.

3. Every citizen shall enjoy the right to profess or not to profess any religion. Legal discrimination in connection with citizens' profession or non-profession of any religion shall be prohibited.

4. The school shall be separated from the church.

Teaching of religious dogmas shall be prohibited in all state, public, and private educational establishments where general educational subjects are taught.

Citizens shall have the right to teach and to be taught religious dogmas in a private manner.

After the victory of the October Revolution the Soviet government made every effort to preserve all valuable art treasures of the past and make them accessible to the working masses.

FROM THE APPEAL OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT OF EDUCATION

December 1917

Preserve the pictures, statues and buildings—they are the embodiment of the spiritual power of yourselves and your predecessors ... do not touch a single stone, protect the monuments, buildings, old things and documents—they are your own history, your pride. Remember that all this makes up the soil on which your new people's art is rising.

THE STRUGGLE OF SOVIET RUSSIA FOR GOING OUT OF THE IMPERIALIST WAR

Since the first day of its existence, the Soviet state began a vigorous campaign for peace. On October 26 (November 8), 1917, the Decree on Peace was adopted, which proposed that all the belligerent nations conclude a general democratic peace—a peace without annexations and indemnities. However, the Entente (Britain, France and others) and also the USA refused to negotiate peace. So the Soviet government, in compliance with the will of the people, started peace negotiations with Germany and its allies on its own.

As a result of the negotiations conducted in Brest-Litovsk (now Brest), on December 2 (15), 1917, an armistice was signed. But the German imperialists, aware of the young Soviet Russia's plight, made rapacious and humiliating conditions: a territory of 150,000 sq km was to be alienated from Russia, including the whole of the Ukraine, and part of Byelorussia and of the Baltic Region. On January 27, 1918, Germany categorically demanded that a peace treaty be signed on these terms. On the next day, Leon Trotsky who headed the Soviet delegation at the peace negotiations, declared to the German representatives, contrary to the directives of Lenin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, that the Soviet government refused to sign a peace treaty on these terms and that the Soviet Republic was ceasing all hostilities against Germany and demobilising its army. Trotsky's behaviour had deplorable consequences. Germany took advantage of his declaration and broke the armistice; on February 18 (according to the New Style which was introduced in Soviet Russia since February 14, 1918), Germany launched a massive offensive on all the fronts. Devastated Russia and its exhausted army were in no condition to continue the war. The German troops, meeting no serious resistance, occupied in the course of several days the whole of Latvia and Estonia, and a considerable part of the Ukraine, and came near Petrograd. Events developed exactly the way Lenin predicted when, already in December 1917, he tried to prove that conclusion of peace with Germany was absolutely necessary, because an immediate peaceful respite was needed to save the Land of Soviets and the Revolution. At that time, however, even many Bolsheviks did not realise the need

for peace, since all of them were exultant at the first successes the Soviets scored in the struggle against the internal counter-revolution and so were unable to estimate the actual situation soberly. The main opponents to signing a peace treaty with Germany were Leon Trotsky and the faction of Left Communists which was formed within the Party by Nikolai Bukharin.

On February 21, 1918, the Council of People's Commissars made public the Decree-Appeal written by Lenin, "The Socialist Fatherland Is in Danger!". In answer to this decree, mass meetings were held all over the country. The Petrograd Soviet declared the 23rd of February the day of defence of the Socialist Fatherland. Volunteers enlisted in the Red Army throughout the country. Ever since 1919, the 23rd of February has been celebrated by the Soviet people as the Red Army's Day.

The Red Guard detachments and the first units of the Red Army held back the enemy in the Pskov and Narva sectors. The first successes of the Red Army forced the German government to halt the offensive. On March 3, 1918, a peace treaty was signed with Germany in Brest-Litovsk on the terms which were exceptionally hard for Soviet Russia. Still, the conclusion of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty created an opportunity to begin rehabilitation of the economy and launch socialist construction.

THE SOCIALIST FATHERLAND IS IN DANGER!

In order to save this exhausted and ravaged country from new ordeals of war we decided to make a very great sacrifice and informed the Germans of our readiness to sign their terms of peace. Our truce envoys left Rezhitsa for Dvinsk in the evening on February 20 (7), *and still there is no reply.* The German Government is evidently in no hurry to reply. It obviously does not want peace. Fulfilling the task with which it has been charged by the capitalists of all countries, German militarism *wants to strangle the Russian and Ukrainian workers and peasants, to return the land to the landowners, the mills and factories to the bankers, and power to the monarchy.* The German generals want to establish their "order" in Petrograd and Kiev. The *Socialist Republic of Soviets is in gravest danger.* Until the proletariat of Germany rises and triumphs, it is the sacred duty of the workers and peasants of Russia devotedly to defend the Republic of Soviets against the hordes of bourgeois-imperialist Germany. The Council of People's Commissars resolves: (1) *The country's entire manpower and resources are placed entirely at the service of revolutionary defence.* (2) *All Soviets and revolutionary organisations are ordered to defend every position to the last drop of blood.* (3) Railway organisations and the Soviets associated with them must do their utmost to prevent the enemy from availing himself of the transport system; in the event of a retreat, they are to destroy the tracks and blow up or burn down the railway buildings; all rolling stock—

carriages and locomotives—must be immediately dispatched eastward, into the interior of the country. (4) All grain and food stocks generally, as well as all valuable property in danger of falling into the enemy's hands, must be unconditionally destroyed; the duty of seeing that this is done is laid upon the local Soviets and their chairmen are made personally responsible. (5) The workers and peasants of Petrograd, Kiev, and of all towns, townships, villages and hamlets along the line of the new front are to mobilise battalions to dig trenches, under the direction of military experts. (6) *These battalions are to include all able-bodied members of the bourgeois class, men and women, under the supervision of Red Guards; those who resist are to be shot.* (7) All publications which oppose the cause of revolutionary defence and side with the German bourgeoisie, or which endeavour to take advantage of the invasion of the imperialist hordes in order to overthrow Soviet rule, are to be suppressed; able-bodied editors and members of the staffs of such publications are to be mobilised for the digging of trenches or for other defence work. (8) *Enemy agents, profiteers, marauders, hooligans, counter-revolutionary agitators and German spies are to be shot on the spot.*

The socialist fatherland is in danger! Long live the socialist fatherland! Long live the international socialist revolution!

February 21, 1918
Petrograd

Council of People's Commissars
(Written by V.I. Lenin)

THE NEWSPAPER *PRAVDA* ON THE FORMATION OF RED ARMY DETACHMENTS TO FIGHT THE GERMAN INVADERS

Moscow

According to the information at the disposal of the Moscow Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, about 60,000 people were enlisted into the socialist Red Army in Moscow and the Moscow Region.

Pravda, February 24, 1918

Petrograd

The German imperialist raid has roused the capital's inhabitants. The situation reminds one of the October days. Petro-

grad once again teems with armed workers, and once again the capital's proletariat are busy preparing for battle.

Pravda, February 26, 1918

A heated discussion flared up between the adherents of peace headed by Lenin, and Trotsky and the "Left Communists" at the Extraordinary Seventh Congress of the Bolshevik Party, which was held on March 6-8, 1918 and which was called to resolve the issue of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty. By an overwhelming majority, the Congress recognised it necessary to approve the peace treaty signed in Brest-Litovsk.

At this congress, the decision was also taken to change the Party's name to the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)—the RCP(B).

FROM THE RESOLUTION ON WAR AND PEACE

March 8, 1918

The Congress recognises the necessity to confirm the extremely harsh, humiliating peace treaty with Germany that has been signed by Soviet power in view of our lack of an army, in view of the most unhealthy state of the demoralised army at the front, in view of the need to take advantage of any, even the slightest, possibility of obtaining a respite before imperialism launches its offensive against the Soviet Socialist Republic.

(Written by V. I. Lenin)

Soon after the Extraordinary Seventh Congress of the RCP(B), the Soviet government and the Central Committee of the Party moved to Moscow, which became the capital city of the Soviet state. On March 14, 1918, the Extraordinary Fourth All-Russia Congress of Soviets was convened in Moscow to ratify the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty. The left SRs opposed the ratification. Their representatives, who entered the Soviet government in December 1917 on the insistence of the peasant congresses, left the CPC. So the agreement on cooperation in the Soviet government with left SRs was cancelled.

The Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty won the Soviet Republic a peaceful respite. The country could now set about its economic rehabilitation. To do so, it was necessary to adjust the production and distribution of goods in the interests of and by the people itself, raise labour productivity, and consolidate labour discipline. In April 1918, Lenin wrote "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government" on the instruction of the RCP(B) Central Committee, in which he outlined a plan for building the foundation of a socialist economy; he also dealt with this issue in several of his other works.

ON LABOUR DISCIPLINE

The Resolution Adopted at the Session of the All-Russia Council of Trade Unions

April 2, 1918

1. At the present moment, the war-induced economic dislocation made worse by catastrophically fallen labour productivity, threatens to destroy the national economy completely; if this is the case, not only will the revolutionary gains be cancelled, but the proletariat, the class of producers will also perish.

2. The All-Russia Council of Trade Unions states that, apart from technical and economic reasons, the fall in labour productivity is due largely to the complete disarray at enterprises and the lack of any production discipline.

3. The trade unions, while realising the great danger of the present situation, must strain every effort to raise labour productivity and steadily introduce indispensable elements of labour discipline at factories.

V. I. LENIN

THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

(excerpts)

The International Position of the Russian Soviet Republic and the Fundamental Tasks of the Socialist Revolution

Thanks to the peace which has been achieved—despite its extremely onerous character and extreme instability—the Russian Soviet Republic has gained an opportunity to concentrate its efforts for a while on the most important and most difficult aspect of the socialist revolution, namely, the task of organisation.

A fundamental condition for the successful accomplishment of the primary task of organisation confronting us is that the people's political leaders, i.e., the members of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), and following them all the class-conscious representatives of the mass of the working people, shall fully appreciate the radical distinction in this respect between previous bourgeois revolutions and the present socialist revolution.

In bourgeois revolutions, the principal task of the mass of working people was to fulfil the negative or destructive work of abolishing feudalism, monarchy and medievalism. The pos-

itive or constructive work of organising the new society was carried out by the property-owning bourgeois minority of the population. And the latter carried out this task with relative ease, despite the resistance of the workers and the poor peasants, not only because the resistance of the people exploited by capital was then extremely weak, since they were scattered and uneducated, but also because the chief organising force of anarchically built capitalist society is the spontaneously growing and expanding national and international market.

In every socialist revolution, however—and consequently in the socialist revolution in Russia which we began on October 25, 1917—the principal task of the proletariat, and of the poor peasants which it leads, is the positive or constructive work of setting up an extremely intricate and delicate system of new organisational relationships extending to the planned production and distribution of the goods required for the existence of tens of millions of people. Such a revolution can be successfully carried out only if the majority of the population, and primarily the majority of the working people, engage in independent creative work as makers of history. Only if the proletariat and the poor peasants display sufficient class-consciousness, devotion to principle, self-sacrifice and perseverance, will the victory of the socialist revolution be assured. By creating a new, Soviet type of state, which gives the working and oppressed people the chance to take an active part in the independent building up of a new society, we solved only a small part of this difficult problem. The principal difficulty lies in the economic sphere, namely, the introduction of the strictest and universal accounting and control of the production and distribution of goods, raising the productivity of labour and *socialising* production *in practice*.

The development of the Bolshevik Party, which today is the governing party in Russia, very strikingly indicates the nature of the turning-point in history we have now reached, which is the peculiar feature of the present political situation, and which calls for a new orientation of Soviet power, i.e., for a new presentation of new tasks.

The first task of every party of the future is to convince the majority of the people that its programme and tactics are correct.... This task has now been fulfilled in the main, for, as the recent Congress of Soviets in Moscow incontrovertibly proved, the majority of the workers and peasants of Russia are obviously

on the side of the Bolsheviks; but of course, it is far from being completely fulfilled (and it can never be completely fulfilled).

The second task that confronted our Party was to capture political power and to suppress the resistance of the exploiters. This task has not been completely fulfilled either, and it cannot be ignored because the monarchists and Constitutional-Democrats on the one hand, and their henchmen and hangers-on, the Mensheviks and Right Socialist-Revolutionaries, on the other, are continuing their efforts to unite for the purpose of overthrowing Soviet power. In the main, however, the task of suppressing the resistance of the exploiters was fulfilled in the period from October 25, 1917, to (approximately) February 1918....

A third task is now coming to the fore as the immediate task and one which constitutes the peculiar feature of the present situation, namely, the task of organising *administration* of Russia. Of course, we advanced and tackled this task on the very day following October 25, 1917. Up to now, however, since the resistance of the exploiters still took the form of open civil war, up to now the task of administration *could not* become the *main*, the *central* task.

Now it has become the main and central task. We, the Bolshevik Party, have *convinced* Russia. We have *won* Russia from the rich for the poor, from the exploiters for the working people. Now we must *administer* Russia. And the whole peculiarity of the present situation, the whole difficulty, lies in understanding *the specific features of the transition* from the principal task of convincing the people and of suppressing the exploiters by armed force to the principal task of *administration*.

For the first time in human history a socialist party has managed to complete in the main the conquest of power and the suppression of the exploiters, and has managed to *approach directly* the task of *administration*. We must prove worthy executors of this most difficult (and most gratifying) task of the socialist revolution. We must *fully realise* that in order to administer successfully, *besides* being able to convince people, besides being able to win a civil war, we must be able to do *practical organisational work*. This is the most difficult task, because it is a matter of organising in a new way the most deep-rooted, the economic, foundations of life of scores of millions of people. And it is the most gratifying task, because only *after* it has been fulfilled (in the principal and main outlines) will it

be possible to say that Russia *has become* not only a Soviet, but also a socialist, republic.

The General Slogan of the Moment

The objective situation reviewed above, which has been created by the extremely onerous and unstable peace, the terrible state of ruin, the unemployment and famine we inherited from the war and the rule of the bourgeoisie (represented by Kerensky and the Mensheviks and Right Socialist-Revolutionaries who supported him), all this has inevitably caused extreme weariness and even exhaustion of wide sections of the working people. These people insistently demand—and cannot but demand—a respite. The task of the day is to restore the productive forces destroyed by the war and by bourgeois rule; to heal the wounds inflicted by the war, by the defeat in the war, by profiteering and the attempts of the bourgeoisie to restore the overthrown rule of the exploiters; to achieve economic revival; to provide reliable protection of elementary order. It may sound paradoxical, but in fact, considering the objective conditions indicated above, it is absolutely certain that at the present moment the Soviet system can secure Russia's transition to socialism only if these very elementary, extremely elementary problems of maintaining public life are practically solved in spite of the resistance of the bourgeoisie, the Mensheviks and the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries. In view of the specific features of the present situation, and in view of the existence of Soviet power with its land socialisation law, workers' control law, etc., the practical solution of these extremely elementary problems and the overcoming of the organisational difficulties of the first stages of progress toward socialism are now two aspects of the same picture.

Keep regular and honest accounts of money, manage economically, do not be lazy, do not steal, observe the strictest labour discipline—it is these slogans, justly scorned by the revolutionary proletariat when the bourgeoisie used them to conceal its rule as an exploiting class, that are now, since the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, becoming the immediate and the principal slogans of the moment. On the one hand, the practical application of these slogans by *the mass* of working people is the *sole* condition for the salvation of a country which has been tortured almost to death by the imperialist war and by the imperialist robbers (headed by Kerensky); on the other hand, the practical application of these slogans by the *Soviet* state, by *its*

methods, on the basis of *its* laws, is a necessary and *sufficient* condition for the final victory of socialism. This is precisely what those who contemptuously brush aside the idea of putting such "hackneyed" and "trivial" slogans in the forefront fail to understand. In a small-peasant country, which overthrew tsarism only a year ago, and which liberated itself from the Kerenskys less than six months ago, there has naturally remained not a little of spontaneous anarchy, intensified by the brutality and savagery that accompany every protracted and reactionary war, and there has arisen a good deal of despair and aimless bitterness. And if we add to this the provocative policy of the lackeys of the bourgeoisie (the Mensheviks, the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries, etc.) it will become perfectly clear what prolonged and persistent efforts must be exerted by the best and the most class-conscious workers and peasants in order to bring about a complete change in the mood of the people and to bring them on to the proper path of steady and disciplined labour. Only such a transition brought about by the mass of the poor (the proletarians and semi-proletarians) can consummate the victory over the bourgeoisie and particularly over the peasant bourgeoisie, more stubborn and numerous.

The New Phase of the Struggle Against the Bourgeoisie

The bourgeoisie in our country has been conquered, but it has not yet been uprooted, not yet destroyed, and not even utterly broken. That is why we are faced with a new and higher form of struggle against the bourgeoisie, the transition from the very simple task of further expropriating the capitalists to the much more complicated and difficult task of creating conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise. Clearly, this task is immeasurably more significant than the previous one; and until it is fulfilled there will be no socialism.

If we measure our revolution by the scale of West-European revolutions we shall find that at the present moment we are approximately at the level reached in 1793 and 1871. We can be legitimately proud of having risen to this level, and of having certainly, in one respect, advanced somewhat further, namely: we have decreed and introduced throughout Russia the highest *type* of state—Soviet power. Under no circumstances, however, can we rest content with what we have achieved, because we have only just started the transition to socialism, we

have *not yet* done the decisive thing in *this* respect.

The decisive thing is the organisation of the strictest and country-wide accounting and control of production and distribution of goods. And yet, we have *not yet* introduced accounting and control in those enterprises and in those branches and fields of economy which we have taken away from the bourgeoisie; and without this there can be no thought of achieving the second and equally essential material condition for introducing socialism, namely, raising the productivity of labour on a national scale.

That is why the present task could not be defined by the simple formula: continue the offensive against capital. Although we have certainly not finished off capital and although it is certainly necessary to continue the offensive against this enemy of the working people, such a formula would be inexact, would not be concrete, would not take into account the *peculiarity* of the present situation in which, in order to go on advancing successfully *in the future*, we must "suspend" our offensive *now*.

This can be explained by comparing our position in the war against capital with the position of a victorious army that has captured, say, a half or two-thirds of the enemy's territory and is compelled to halt in order to muster its forces, to replenish its supplies of munitions, repair and reinforce the lines of communication, build new storehouses, bring up new reserves, etc. To suspend the offensive of a victorious army under such conditions is necessary precisely in order to gain the rest of the enemy's territory, i.e., in order to achieve complete victory. Those who have failed to understand that the objective state of affairs at the present moment dictates to us precisely such a "suspension"of the offensive against capital have failed to understand anything at all about the present political situation.

It goes without saying that we can speak about the "suspension" of the offensive against capital only in quotation marks, i.e., only metaphorically. In ordinary war, a general order can be issued to stop the offensive, the advance can actually be stopped. In the war against capital, however, the advance cannot be stopped, and there can be no thought of our abandoning the further expropriation of capital. What we are discussing is the shifting of the *centre of gravity* of our economic and political work. Up to now measures for the direct expropriation of the expropriators were *in the forefront*. Now the organisation of accounting and control in those enterprises in which the capitalists have already been expropriated, and in all other enterprises, advances *to the forefront*.

If we decided to continue to expropriate capital at the same rate at which we have been doing it up to now, we should certainly suffer defeat, because our work of organising proletarian accounting and control has obviously—obviously to every thinking person—*fallen behind* the work of *directly* "expropriating the expropriators". If we now concentrate all our efforts on the organisation of accounting and control, we shall be able to solve this problem, we shall be able to make up for lost time, we shall *completely* win our "campaign" against capital.

But is not the admission that we must make up for lost time tantamount to admission of some kind of an error? Not in the least. Take another military example. If it is possible to defeat and push back the enemy merely with detachments of light cavalry, it should be done. But if this can be done successfully only up to a certain point, then it is quite conceivable that when this point has been reached, it will be necessary to bring up heavy artillery. By admitting that it is now necessary to make up for lost time in bringing up heavy artillery, we do not admit that the successful cavalry attack was a mistake.

Frequently, the lackeys of the bourgeoisie reproached us for having launched a "Red Guard" attack on capital. The reproach is absurd and is worthy only of the lackeys of the money-bags, because *at one time* the "Red Guard" attack on capital was absolutely dictated by circumstances. Firstly, *at that time* capital put up military resistance Military resistance cannot be broken except by military means, and the Red Guards fought in the noble and supreme historical cause of liberating the working and exploited people from the yoke of the exploiters.

Secondly, we could not at that time put methods of administration in the forefront in place of methods of suppression, because the art of administration is not innate, but is acquired by experience. At that time we lacked this experience; now we have it. Thirdly, at that time we could not have specialists in the various fields of knowledge and technology at our disposal because those specialists were either fighting in the ranks of the Bogayevskys,* or were still able to put up systematic and stubborn passive resistance by way of *sabotage*. Now we have broken the sabotage. The "Red Guard" attack on capital was suc-

*Afrikan Bogayevsky—an organiser of counter-revolutionaries on the Don—*Ed.*

cessful, was victorious, because we broke capital's military resistance and its resistance by sabotage.

Does that mean that a "Red Guard" attack on capital is *always* appropriate, under *all* circumstances, that we have *no* other means of fighting capital? It would be childish to think so. We achieved victory with the aid of light cavalry, but we also have heavy artillery. We achieved victory by methods of suppression; we shall be able to achieve victory also by methods of administration. We must know how to change our methods of fighting the enemy to suit changes in the situation. We shall not for a moment renounce "Red Guard" suppression of the Savinkovs* and Gegechkoris** and all other landowner and bourgeois counter-revolutionaries. We shall not be so foolish, however, as to put "Red Guard" methods in the forefront at a time when the period in which Red Guard attacks were necessary has, in the main, drawn to a close (and to a victorious close), and when the period of utilising bourgeois specialists by the proletarian state power for the purpose of reploughing the soil in order to prevent the growth of any bourgeoisie whatever is knocking at the door.

This is a peculiar epoch, or rather stage of development, and in order to defeat capital completely, we must be able to adapt the forms of our struggle to the peculiar conditions of this stage.

Without the guidance of experts in the various fields of knowledge, technology and experience, the transition to socialism will be impossible, because socialism calls for a conscious mass advance to greater productivity of labour compared with capitalism, and on the basis achieved by capitalism. Socialism must achieve this advance *in its own way*, by its own methods—or, to put it more concretely, by *Soviet* methods. And the specialists, because of the whole social environment which made them specialists, are, in the main, inevitably bourgeois. Had our proletariat, after capturing power, quickly solved the problem of accounting, control and organisation on a national scale (which was impossible owing to the war and Russia's backwardness), then we, after breaking the sabotage, would also have completely subordinated these bourgeois experts to ourselves by means of universal accounting and control. Owing to the considerable "delay" in introducing accounting and control

*Boris Savinkov—a Socialist-Revolutionary, leader of counter-revolutionary plots and mutinies—*Ed.*

**Yevgeny Gegechkori—a leader of Georgian Mensheviks—*Ed.*

generally, we, although we have managed to conquer sabotage, have *not yet* created the conditions which would place the bourgeois specialists at our disposal. The mass of saboteurs are "going to work", but the best organisers and the top experts can be utilised by the state either in the old way, in the bourgeois way (i.e., for high salaries), or in the new way, in the proletarian way (i.e., creating the conditions of national accounting and control from below, which would inevitably and of itself subordinate the experts and enlist them for our work).

Now we have to resort to the old bourgeois method and to agree to pay a very high price for the "services" of the top bourgeois experts. All those who are familiar with the subject appreciate this, but not all ponder over the significance of this measure being adopted by the proletarian state. Clearly, this measure is a compromise, a departure from the principles of the Paris Commune and of every proletarian power, which call for the reduction of all salaries to the level of the wages of the average worker, which urge that careerism be fought not merely in words, but in deeds.

Moreover, it is clear that this measure not only implies the cessation—in a certain field and to a certain degree—of the offensive against capital (for capital is not a sum of money, but a definite social relation); it is also *a step backward* on the part of our socialist Soviet state power, which from the very outset proclaimed and pursued the policy of reducing high salaries to the level of the wages of the average worker.

Of course, the lackeys of the bourgeoisie, particularly the small fry, such as the Mensheviks, the *Novaya Zhizn* people and the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries, will giggle over our confession that we are taking a step backward. But we need not mind their giggling. We must study the specific features of the extremely difficult and new path to socialism without concealing our mistakes and weaknesses, and try to be prompt in doing what has been left undone. To conceal from the people the fact that the enlistment of bourgeois experts by means of extremely high salaries is a retreat from the principles of the Paris Commune would be sinking to the level of bourgeois politicians and deceiving the people. Frankly explaining how and why we took this step backward, and then publicly discussing what means are available for making up for lost time, means educating the people and learning from experience, learning together with the people how to build socialism. There is hardly a single victorious military campaign in history in which the victor did not commit certain mistakes, suffer partial reverses, temporarily

yield something and in some places retreat. The "campaign" which we have undertaken against capitalism is a million times more difficult than the most difficult military campaign, and it would be silly and disgraceful to give way to despondency because of a particular and partial retreat.

We shall now discuss the question from the practical point of view. Let us assume that the Russian Soviet Republic requires one thousand first-class scientists and experts in various fields of knowledge, technology and practical experience to direct the labour of the people towards securing the speediest possible economic revival. Let us assume also that we shall have to pay these "stars of the first magnitude"—of course the majority of those who shout loudest about the corruption of the workers are themselves utterly corrupted by bourgeois morals—25,000 rubles per annum each. Let us assume that this sum (25,000,000 rubles) will have to be doubled (assuming that we have to pay bonuses for particularly successful and rapid fulfilment of the most important organisational and technical tasks), or even quadrupled (assuming that we have to enlist several hundred foreign specialists, who are more demanding). The question is, would the annual expenditure of fifty or a hundred million rubles by the Soviet Republic for the purpose of reorganising the labour of the people on modern scientific and technological lines be excessive or too heavy? Of course not. The overwhelming majority of the class-conscious workers and peasants will approve of this expenditure because they know from practical experience that our backwardness causes us to lose thousands of millions, and that we have *not yet* reached that degree of organisation, accounting and control which would induce all the "stars" of the bourgeois intelligentsia to participate voluntarily in *our* work.

It goes without saying that this question has another side to it. The corrupting influence of high salaries—both upon the Soviet authorities (especially since the revolution occurred so rapidly that it was impossible to prevent a certain number of adventurers and rogues from getting into positions of authority, and they, together with a number of inept or dishonest commissars, would not be averse to becoming "star" embezzlers of state funds) and upon the mass of the workers—is indisputable. Every thinking and honest worker and poor peasant, however, will agree with us, will admit, that we cannot immediately rid ourselves of the evil legacy of capitalism, and that we can liberate the Soviet Republic from the duty of paying an annual "tribute" of fifty million or one hundred million rubles (a trib-

ute for our own backwardness in organising *country-wide* accounting and control *from below*) only by organising ourselves, by tightening up discipline in our own ranks, by purging our ranks of all those who are "preserving the legacy of capitalism", who "follow the traditions of capitalism", i.e. of idlers, parasites and embezzlers of state funds (now all the land, all the factories and all the railways are the "state funds" of the Soviet Republic). If the class-conscious advanced workers and poor peasants manage with the aid of the Soviet institutions to organise, become disciplined, pull themselves together, create powerful labour discipline in the course of one year, then in a year's time we shall throw off this "tribute", which can be reduced even before that ... in exact proportion to the successes we achieve in our workers' and peasants' labour discipline and organisation. The sooner we ourselves, workers and peasants, learn the best labour discipline and the most modern technique of labour, using the bourgeois experts to teach us, the sooner we shall liberate ourselves from any "tribute" to these specialists.

Our work of organising country-wide accounting and control of production and distribution under the supervision of the proletariat has lagged very much behind our work of directly expropriating the expropriators. This proposition is of fundamental importance for understanding the specific features of the present situation and the tasks of the Soviet government that follow from it. The centre of gravity of our struggle against the bourgeoisie is shifting to the organisation of such accounting and control. Only with this as our starting-point will it be possible to determine correctly the immediate tasks of economic and financial policy in the sphere of nationalisation of the banks, monopolisation of foreign trade, the state control of money circulation, the introduction of a property and income tax satisfactory from the proletarian point of view, and the introduction of compulsory labour service.

We have been lagging very far behind in introducing socialist reforms in these spheres (very, very important spheres), and this is because accounting and control are insufficiently organised in general. It goes without saying that this is one of the most difficult tasks, and in view of the ruin caused by the war, it can be fulfilled only over a long period of time; but we must not forget that it is precisely here that the bourgeoisie—and particularly the numerous petty and peasant bourgeoisie—are putting up the most serious fight, disrupting the control that is already being organised, disrupting the grain monopoly, for

example, and gaining positions for profiteering and speculative trade. We have far from adequately carried out the things we have decreed, and the principal task of the moment is to concentrate all efforts on the businesslike, practical *realisation* of the principles of the reforms which have already become law (but not yet reality).

In order to proceed with the nationalisation of the banks and to go on steadfastly towards transforming the banks into nodal points of public accounting under socialism, we must first of all, and above all, achieve real success in increasing the number of branches of the People's Bank, in attracting deposits, in simplifying the paying in and withdrawal of deposits by the public, in abolishing queues, in catching and *shooting* bribe-takers and rogues, etc. At first we must really carry out the simplest things, properly organise what is available, and then prepare for the more intricate things.

Consolidate and improve the state monopolies (in grain, leather, etc.) which have already been introduced, and by doing so prepare for the state monopoly of foreign trade. Without this monopoly we shall not be able to "free ourselves" from foreign capital by paying "tribute". And the possibility of building up socialism depends entirely upon whether we shall be able, by paying a certain tribute to foreign capital during a certain transitional period, to safeguard our internal economic independence.

We are also lagging very far behind in regard to the collection of taxes generally, and of the property and income tax in particular. The imposing of indemnities upon the bourgeoisie—a measure which in principle is absolutely permissible and deserves proletarian approval—shows that in this respect we are still nearer to the methods of warfare (to win Russia from the rich for the poor) than to the methods of administration. In order to become stronger, however, and in order to be able to stand firmer on our feet, we must adopt the latter methods, we must substitute for the indemnities imposed upon the bourgeoisie the constant and regular collection of a property and income tax, which will bring a *greater* return to the proletarian state, and which calls for better organisation on our part and better accounting and control.

The fact that we are late in introducing compulsory labour service also shows that the work that is coming to the fore at the present time is precisely the preparatory organisational work that, on the one hand, will finally consolidate

our gains and that, on the other, is necessary in order to prepare for the operation of "surrounding" capital and compelling it to "surrender". We ought to begin introducing compulsory labour service immediately, but we must do so very gradually and circumspectly, testing every step by practical experience, and, of course, taking the first step by introducing compulsory labour service *for the rich*. The introduction of work and consumers' budget books for every bourgeois, including every rural bourgeois, would be an important step towards completely "surrounding" the enemy and towards the creation of a truly popular accounting and control of the production and distribution of goods.

The Significance of the Struggle for Country-wide Accounting and Control

The state, which for centuries has been an organ for oppression and robbery of the people, has left us a legacy of the people's supreme hatred and suspicion of everything that is connected with the state. It is very difficult to overcome this, and only a Soviet government can do it. Even a Soviet government, however, will require plenty of time and enormous perseverance to accomplish it. This "legacy" is especially apparent in the problem of accounting and control—the fundamental problem facing the socialist revolution on the morrow of the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. A certain amount of time will inevitably pass before the people, who feel free for the first time now that the landowners and the bourgeoisie have been overthrown, will understand—not from books, but from their own, *Soviet* experience—will understand and *feel* that without comprehensive state accounting and control of the production and distribution of goods, the power of the working people, the freedom of the working people, *cannot* be maintained, and that a return to the yoke of capitalism is *inevitable*.

All the habits and traditions of the bourgeoisie, and of the petty bourgeoisie in particular, also oppose *state* control, and uphold the inviolability of "sacred private property", of "sacred" private enterprise. It is now particularly clear to us how correct is the Marxist thesis that anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism are *bourgeois* trends, how irreconcilably opposed they are to socialism, proletarian dictatorship and communism. The fight to instil into the people's minds the idea of *Soviet* state control and accounting, and to carry out this idea in

practice; the fight to break with the rotten past, which taught the people to regard the procurement of bread and clothes as a "private" affair, and buying and selling as a transaction "which concerns only myself"—is a great fight of world-historic significance, a fight between socialist consciousness and bourgeois-anarchist spontaneity.

We have introduced workers' control as a law, but this law is only just beginning to operate and is only just beginning to penetrate the minds of broad sections of the proletariat. In our agitation we do not sufficiently explain that lack of accounting and control in the production and distribution of goods means the death of the rudiments of socialism, means the embezzlement of state funds (for all property belongs to the state and the state is the Soviet state in which power belongs to the majority of the working people). We do not sufficiently explain that carelessness in accounting and control is downright aiding and abetting the German and the Russian Kornilovs, who can overthrow the power of the working people *only* if we fail to cope with the task of accounting and control, and who, with the aid of the whole of the rural bourgeoisie, with the aid of the Constitutional-Democrats, the Mensheviks and the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries, are "watching" us and waiting for an opportune moment to attack us. And the advanced workers and peasants do not think and speak about this sufficiently. Until workers' control has become a fact, until the advanced workers have organised and carried out a victorious and ruthless crusade against the violators of this control, or against those who are careless in matters of control, it will be impossible to pass from the first step (from workers' control) to the second step towards socialism, i.e., to pass on to workers' regulation of production.

The socialist state can arise only as a network of producers' and consumers' communes, which conscientiously keep account of their production and consumption, economise on labour, and steadily raise the productivity of labour, thus making it possible to reduce the working day to seven, six and even fewer hours. Nothing will be achieved unless the strictest, country-wide, comprehensive accounting and control of *grain* and the *production of grain* (and later of all other essential goods) are set going. Capitalism left us a legacy of mass organisations which can facilitate our transition to the mass accounting and control of the distribution of goods, namely, the consumers' cooperative societies. In Russia these societies are not so well developed as in the advanced countries, nevertheless, they

have over ten million members. The Decree on Consumers' Co-operative Societies, issued the other day, is an extremely significant phenomenon, which strikingly illustrated the peculiar position and the specific tasks of the Soviet Socialist Republic at the present moment.

The decree is an agreement with the bourgeois co-operative societies and the workers' co-operative societies which still adhere to the bourgeois point of view. It is an agreement, or compromise, firstly because the representatives of the above-mentioned institutions not only took part in discussing the decree, but actually had a decisive say in the matter, for the parts of the decree which were strongly opposed by these institutions were dropped. Secondly, the essence of the compromise is that the Soviet government has abandoned the principle of admission of new members to co-operative societies without entrance fees (which is the only consistently proletarian principle); it has also abandoned the idea of uniting the whole population of a given locality in a *single* co-operative society. Contrary to this principle, which is the only socialist principle and which corresponds to the task of abolishing classes, the "working-class co-operative societies" (which in this case call themselves "class" societies only because they subordinate themselves to the class interests of the bourgeoisie) were given the right to continue to exist. Finally, the Soviet government's proposal to expel the bourgeoisie entirely from the boards of the co-operative societies was also considerably modified, and only owners of private capitalist trading and industrial enterprises were forbidden to serve on the boards.

Had the proletariat, acting through the Soviet government, managed to organise accounting and control on a national scale, or at least laid the foundation for such control, it would not have been necessary to make such compromises. Through the food departments of the Soviets, through the supply organisations under the Soviets we should have organised the population into a single co-operative society under proletarian management. We should have done this without the assistance of the bourgeois co-operative societies, without making any concession to the purely bourgeois principle which prompts the workers' co-operative societies to remain workers' societies *side by side* with bourgeois societies, *instead of* subordinating these bourgeois co-operative societies entirely to themselves, merging the two together and taking the *entire* management of the society and the supervision of

the consumption of the rich *in their own* hands.

In concluding such an agreement with the bourgeois co-operative societies, the Soviet government concretely defined its tactical aims and its peculiar methods of action in the present stage of development as follows: by directing the bourgeois elements, utilising them, making certain partial concessions to them, we create the conditions for further progress that will be slower than we at first anticipated, but surer, with the base and lines of communication better secured and with the positions which have been won better consolidated. The Soviets can *(and should)* now gauge their successes in the field of socialist construction, among other things, by extremely clear, simple and practical standards, namely, in how many communities (communes or villages, or blocks of houses, etc.) co-operative societies have been organised, and to what extent their development has reached the point of embracing the whole population.

Raising the Productivity of Labour

In every socialist revolution, after the proletariat has solved the problem of capturing power, and to the extent that the task of expropriating the expropriators and suppressing their resistance has been carried out in the main, there necessarily comes to the forefront the fundamental task of creating a social system superior to capitalism, namely, raising the productivity of labour, and in this connection (and for this purpose) securing better organisation of labour. Our Soviet state is precisely in the position where, thanks to the victories over the exploiters—from Kerensky to Kornilov—it is able to approach this task directly, to tackle it in earnest. And here it becomes immediately clear that while it is possible to take over the central government in a few days, while it is possible to suppress the military resistance (and sabotage) of the exploiters even in different parts of a great country in a few weeks, the capital solution of the problem of raising the productivity of labour requires, at all events (particularly after a most terrible and devastating war), several years. The protracted nature of the work is certainly dictated by objective circumstances.

The raising of the productivity of labour first of all requires that the material basis of large-scale industry shall be assured, namely, the development of the production of fuel, iron, the engineering and chemical industries. The Russian So-

viet Republic enjoys the favourable position of having at its command, even after the Brest peace, enormous reserves of ore (in the Urals), fuel in Western Siberia (coal), in the Caucasus and the South-East (oil), in Central Russia (peat), enormous timber reserves, water power, raw materials for the chemical industry (Karabugaz), etc. The development of these natural resources by methods of modern technology will provide the basis for the unprecedented progress of the productive forces.

Another condition for raising the productivity of labour is, firstly, the raising of the educational and cultural level of the mass of the population. This is now taking place extremely rapidly, a fact which those who are blinded by bourgeois routine are unable to see; they are unable to understand what an urge towards enlightenment and initiative is now developing among the "lower ranks" of the people thanks to the Soviet form of organisation. Secondly, a condition for economic revival is the raising of the working people's discipline, their skill, the effectiveness, the intensity of labour and its better organisation.

In this respect the situation is particularly bad and even hopeless if we are to believe those who have allowed themselves to be intimidated by the bourgeoisie or by those who are serving the bourgeoisie for their own ends. These people do not understand that there has not been, nor could there be, a revolution in which the supporters of the old system did not raise a howl about chaos, anarchy, etc. Naturally, among the people who have only just thrown off an unprecedentedly savage yoke there is deep and widespread seething and ferment; the working out of new principles of labour discipline by the people is a very protracted process, and this process could not even start until complete victory had been achieved over the landowners and the bourgeoisie.

We, however, without in the least yielding to the despair (it is often false despair) which is spread by the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intellectuals (who have despaired of retaining their old privileges), must under no circumstances conceal an obvious evil. On the contrary, we shall expose it and intensify the Soviet methods of combating it, because the victory of socialism is inconceivable without the victory of proletarian conscious discipline over spontaneous petty-bourgeois anarchy, this real guarantee of a possible restoration of Kerenskyism and Kornilovism.

The more class-conscious vanguard of the Russian prole-

tariat has already set itself the task of raising labour discipline. For example, both the Central Committee of the Metalworkers' Union and the Central Council of Trade Unions have begun to draft the necessary measures and decrees. This work must be supported and pushed ahead with all speed. We must raise the question of piece-work and apply and test it in practice; we must raise the question of applying much of what is scientific and progressive in the Taylor system; we must make wages correspond to the total amount of goods turned out, or to the amount of work done by the railways, the water transport system, etc., etc....

The Organisation of Competition

Among the absurdities which the bourgeoisie are fond of spreading about socialism is the allegation that socialists deny the importance of competition. In fact, it is only socialism which, by abolishing classes, and, consequently, by abolishing the enslavement of the people, for the first time opens the way for competition on a really mass scale. And it is precisely the Soviet form of organisation, by ensuring transition from the formal democracy of the bourgeois republic to real participation of the mass of working people in *administration,* that for the first time puts competition on a broad basis. It is much easier to organise this in the political field than in the economic field; but for the success of socialism, it is the economic field that matters.

Take, for example, a means of organising competition such as publicity. The bourgeois republic ensures publicity only formally; in practice, it subordinates the press to capital, entertains the "mob" with sensationalist political trash and conceals what takes place in the workshops, in commercial transactions, contracts, etc., behind a veil of "trade secrets", which protect "the sacred right of property". The Soviet government has abolished trade secrets; it has taken a new path; but we have done hardly anything to utilise publicity for the purpose of encouraging economic competition. While ruthlessly suppressing the thoroughly mendacious and insolently slanderous bourgeois press, we must set to work systematically to create a press that will not entertain and fool the people with political sensation and trivialities, but which will submit the questions of everyday economic life to the people's judgement and assist in the serious study of these questions. Every factory, every village is a producers'

and consumers' commune, whose right and duty it is to apply the general Soviet laws in their own way ("in their own way", not in the sense of violating them, but in the sense that they can apply them in various forms) and in their own way to solve the problem of accounting in the production and distribution of goods. Under capitalism, this was the "private affair" of the individual capitalist, landowner or kulak. Under the Soviet system, it is not a private affair, but a most important affair of state.

We have scarcely yet started on the enormous, difficult but rewarding task of organising competition between communes, of introducing accounting and publicity in the process of the production of grain, clothes and other things, of transforming dry, dead, bureaucratic accounts into living examples, some repulsive, others attractive. Under the capitalist mode of production, the significance of individual example, say the example of a co-operative workshop, was inevitably very much restricted, and only those imbued with petty-bourgeois illusions could dream of "correcting" capitalism through the example of virtuous institutions. After political power has passed to the proletariat, after the expropriators have been expropriated, the situation radically changes and—as prominent socialists have repeatedly pointed out—force of example for the first time is able to influence the people. Model communes must and will serve as educators, teachers, helping to raise the backward communes. The press must serve as an instrument of socialist construction, give publicity to the successes achieved by the model communes in all their details, must study the causes of these successes, the methods of management these communes employ, and, on the other hand, must put on the "black list" those communes which persist in the "traditions of capitalism", i.e., anarchy, laziness, disorder and profiteering. In capitalist society, statistics were entirely a matter for "government servants", or for narrow specialists; we must carry statistics to the people and make them popular so that the working people themselves may gradually learn to understand and see how long and in what way it is necessary to work, how much time and in what way one may rest, so that *the comparison of the business results* of the various communes may become a matter of general interest and study, and that the most outstanding communes may be rewarded immediately (by reducing the working day, raising remuneration, placing a larger amount of cultural or aesthetic facilities or values at their disposal, etc.)

When a new class comes on to the historical scene as the leader and guide of society, a period of violent "rocking", shocks, struggle and storm, on the one hand, and a period of uncertain steps, experiments, wavering, hesitation in regard to the selection of new methods corresponding to new objective circumstances, on the other, are inevitable. The moribund feudal nobility avenged themselves on the bourgeoisie which vanquished them and took their place, not only by conspiracies and attempts at rebellion and restoration, but also by pouring ridicule over the lack of skill, the clumsiness and the mistakes of the "upstarts" and the "insolent" who dared to take over the "sacred helm" of state without the centuries of training which the princes, barons, nobles and dignitaries had had; in exactly the same way the Kornilovs and Kerenskys, the whole of that fraternity of heroes of bourgeois swindling or bourgeois scepticism, avenge themselves on the working class of Russia for having had the "audacity" to take power.

Of course, not weeks, but long months and years are required for a new social class, especially a class which up to now has been oppressed and crushed by poverty and ignorance, to get used to its new position, look around, organise its work and promote its *own* organisers. It is understandable that the Party which leads the revolutionary proletariat has not been able to acquire the experience and habits of large organisational undertakings embracing millions and tens of millions of citizens; the remoulding of the old, almost exclusively agitators' habits is a very lengthy process. But there is nothing impossible in this, and as soon as the necessity for a change is clearly appreciated, as soon as there is firm determination to effect the change and perseverance in pursuing a great and difficult aim, we shall achieve it. There is an enormous amount of organising talent among the "people", i.e., among the workers and the peasants who do not exploit the labour of others. Capital crushed these talented people in thousands; it killed their talent and threw them on to the scrap-heap. We are not yet able to find them, encourage them, put them on their feet, promote them. But we shall learn to do so if we set about it with all-out revolutionary enthusiasm, without which there can be no victorious revolutions.

No profound and mighty popular movement has ever occurred in history without dirty scum rising to the top, without adventurers and rogues, boasters and ranters attaching

themselves to the inexperienced innovators, without absurd muddle and fuss, without individual "leaders" trying to deal with twenty matters at once and not finishing any of them. Let the lap-dogs of bourgeois society... squeal and yelp about every extra chip that is sent flying in cutting down the big, old wood. What else are lap-dogs for if not to yelp at the proletarian elephant? Let them yelp. We shall go our way and try as carefully and as patiently as possible to test and discover real organisers, people with sober and practical minds, people who combine loyalty to socialism with ability without fuss (and in spite of muddle and fuss) to get a large number of people working together steadily and concertedly within the framework of Soviet organisation. *Only* such people, after they have been tested a dozen times, by being transferred from the simplest to the more difficult tasks, should be promoted to the responsible posts of leaders of the people's labour, leaders of administration. We have not yet learned to do this, but we shall learn.

"Harmonious Organisation" and Dictatorship

The resolution adopted by the recent Moscow Congress of Soviets advanced as the primary task of the moment the establishment of a "harmonious organisation", and the tightening of discipline. Everyone now readily "votes for" and "subscribes to" resolutions of this kind; but usually people do not think over the fact that the application of such resolutions calls for coercion—coercion precisely in the form of dictatorship. And yet it would be extremely stupid and absurdly utopian to assume that the transition from capitalism to socialism is possible without coercion and without dictatorship. Marx's theory very definitely opposed this petty-bourgeois-democratic and anarchist absurdity long ago. And Russia of 1917-18 confirms the correctness of Marx's theory in this respect so strikingly, palpably and imposingly that only those who are hopelessly dull or who have obstinately decided to turn their backs on the truth can be under any misapprehension concerning this. Either the dictatorship of Kornilov (if we take him as the Russian type of bourgeois Cavaignac), or the dictatorship of the proletariat—any other choice is *out of the question* for a country which is developing at an extremely rapid rate with extremely sharp turns and amidst desperate ruin created by one of the most horrible wars in history. Every

solution that offers a middle path is either a deception of the people by the bourgeoisie—for the bourgeoisie dare not tell the truth, dare not say that they need Kornilov—or an expression of the dull-wittedness of the petty-bourgeois democrats, who chatter about the unity of democracy, the dictatorship of democracy, the general democratic front, and similar nonsense. Those whom even the progress of the Russian Revolution of 1917-18 has not taught that a middle course is impossible, must be given up for lost.

On the other hand, it is not difficult to see that during every transition from capitalism to socialism, dictatorship is necessary for two main reasons, or along two main channels. Firstly, capitalism cannot be defeated and eradicated without the ruthless suppression of the resistance of the exploiters, who cannot at once be deprived of their wealth, of their advantages of organisation and knowledge, and consequently for a fairly long period will inevitably try to overthrow the hated rule of the poor; secondly, every great revolution, and a socialist revolution in particular, even if there is no external war, is inconceivable without internal war, i.e., civil war, which is even more devastating than external war, and involves thousands and millions of cases of wavering and desertion from one side to another, implies a state of extreme indefiniteness, lack of equilibrium and chaos. And of course, all the elements of disintegration of the old society, which are inevitably very numerous and connected mainly with the petty bourgeoisie (because it is the petty bourgeoisie that every war and every crisis ruins and destroys first), are bound to "reveal themselves" during such a profound revolution. And these elements of disintegration *cannot* "reveal themselves" otherwise than in an increase of crime, hooliganism, corruption, profiteering and outrages of every kind. To put these down requires time and *requires an iron hand.*

There has not been a single great revolution in history in which the people did not instinctively realise this and did not show salutary firmness by shooting thieves on the spot. The misfortune of previous revolutions was that the revolutionary enthusiasm of the people, which sustained them in their state of tension and gave them the strength to suppress ruthlessly the elements of disintegration, did not last long. The social, i.e., the class, reason for this instability of the revolutionary enthusiasm of the people was the weakness of the proletariat, which *alone* is able (if it is sufficiently numerous,

class-conscious and disciplined) to win over to its side *the majority* of the working and exploited people (the majority of the poor, to speak more simply and popularly) and retain power sufficiently long to suppress completely all the exploiters as well as all the elements of disintegration.

It was this historical experience of all revolutions, it was this world-historic—economic and political—lesson that Marx summed up when he gave his short, sharp, concise and expressive formula: dictatorship of the proletariat. And the fact that the Russian revolution has been correct in its approach to this world-historic task *has been proved* by the victorious progress of the Soviet form of organisation among all the peoples and tongues of Russia. For Soviet power is nothing but an organisational form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the dictatorship of the advanced class, which raises to a new democracy and to independent participation in the administration of the state tens upon tens of millions of working and exploited people, who by their own experience learn to regard the disciplined and class-conscious vanguard of the proletariat as their most reliable leader.

Dictatorship, however, is a big word, and big words should not be thrown about carelessly. Dictatorship is iron rule, government that is revolutionarily bold, swift and ruthless in suppressing both exploiters and hooligans. But our government is excessively mild, very often it resembles jelly more than iron. We must not forget for a moment that the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois element is fighting against the Soviet system in two ways; on the one hand, it is operating from without, by conspiracies and rebellions, and by their filthy "ideological" reflection, the flood of lies and slander in the Constitutional-Democratic, Right Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik press; on the other hand, this element operates from within and takes advantage of every manifestation of disintegration, of every weakness, in order to bribe, to increase indiscipline, laxity and chaos. The nearer we approach the complete military suppression of the bourgeoisie, the more dangerous does the element of petty-bourgeois anarchy become. And the fight against this element cannot be waged solely with the aid of propaganda and agitation, solely by organising competition and by selecting organisers. The struggle must also be waged by means of coercion.

As the fundamental task of the government becomes not military suppression, but administration, the typical manifestation of suppression and compulsion will be, not shoot-

ing on the spot, but trial by court. In this respect also the revolutionary people after October 25, 1917 took the right path and demonstrated the viability of the revolution by setting up their own workers' and peasants' courts, even before the decrees dissolving the bourgeois bureaucratic judiciary were passed. But our revolutionary and people's courts are extremely, incredibly weak. One feels that we have not yet done away with the people's attitude towards the courts as towards something official and alien, an attitude inherited from the yoke of the landowners and of the bourgeoisie. It is not yet sufficiently realised that the courts are an organ which enlists precisely the poor, every one of them, in the work of state administration (for the work of the courts is one of the functions of state administration), that the courts are an *organ of the power* of the proletariat and of the poor peasants, that the courts are an instrument *for inculcating discipline*. There is not yet sufficient appreciation of the simple and obvious fact that if the principal misfortunes of Russia at the present time are hunger and unemployment, these misfortunes cannot be overcome by spurts, but only by comprehensive, all-embracing, country-wide organisation and discipline in order to increase the output of bread for the people and bread for industry (fuel), to transport these in good time to the places where they are required, and to distribute them properly; and it is not fully appreciated that, consequently, it is *those* who violate labour discipline at any factory, in any undertaking, in any matter, who are *responsible* for the sufferings caused by the famine and unemployment, that we must know how to find the guilty ones, to bring them to trial and ruthlessly punish them. Where the petty-bourgeois anarchy against which we must now wage a most persistent struggle makes itself felt is in the failure to appreciate the economic and political connection between famine and unemployment, on the one hand, and general laxity in matters of organisation and discipline, on the other—in the tenacity of the *small-proprietor* outlook, namely, I'll grab all I can for myself; the rest can go hang.

In the rail transport service, which perhaps most strikingly embodies the economic ties of an organism created by large-scale capitalism, the struggle between the element of petty-bourgeois laxity and proletarian organisation is particularly evident. The "administrative" elements provide a host of saboteurs and bribe-takers; the best part of the

proletarian elements fight for discipline; but among both elements there are, of course, many waverers and "weak" characters who are unable to withstand the "temptation" of profiteering, bribery, personal gain obtained by spoiling the whole apparatus, upon the proper working of which the victory over famine and unemployment depends.

The struggle that has been developing around the recent decree on the management of the railways, the decree which grants individual executives dictatorial powers (or "unlimited" powers), is characteristic. The conscious (and to a large extent, probably, unconscious) representatives of petty-bourgeois laxity would like to see in this granting of "unlimited" (i.e., dictatorial) powers to individuals a departure from the collegiate principle, from democracy and from the principles of Soviet government. Here and there, among Left Socialist-Revolutionaries, a positively hooligan agitation, i.e., agitation appealing to the base instincts and to the small proprietor's urge to "grab all he can", has been developed against the dictatorship decree. The question has become one of really enormous significance. Firstly, the question of principle, namely, is the appointment of individuals, dictators with unlimited powers, in general compatible with the fundamental principles of Soviet government? Secondly, what relation has this case—this precedent, if you will—to the special tasks of government in the present concrete situation? We must deal very thoroughly with both these questions.

That in the history of revolutionary movements the dictatorship of individuals was very often the expression, the vehicle, the channel of the dictatorship of the revolutionary classes has been shown by the irrefutable experience of history. Undoubtedly, the dictatorship of individuals was compatible with bourgeois democracy. On this point, however, the bourgeois denigrators of the Soviet system, as well as their petty-bourgeois henchmen, always display sleight of hand: on the one hand, they declare the Soviet system to be something absurd, anarchistic and savage, and carefully pass over in silence all our historical examples and theoretical arguments which prove that the Soviets are a higher form of democracy, and what is more, the beginning of a *socialist* form of democracy; on the other hand, they demand of us a higher democracy than bourgeois democracy and say: personal dictatorship is absolutely incompatible with your, Bolshevik (i.e., not bourgeois, *but socialist*), Soviet democracy.

These are exceedingly poor arguments. If we are not anarchists, we must admit that the state, *that is, coercion,* is necessary for the transition from capitalism to socialism. The form of coercion is determined by the degree of development of the given revolutionary class, and also by special circumstances, such as, for example, the legacy of a long and reactionary war and the forms of resistance put up by the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie. There is, therefore, absolutely *no* contradiction in principle between Soviet (*that* is, socialist) democracy and the exercise of dictatorial powers by individuals. The difference between proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois dictatorship is that the former strikes at the exploiting minority in the interests of the exploited majority, and that it is exercised—*also through individuals*—not only by the working and exploited people, but also by organisations which are built in such a way as to rouse these people to history-making activity. (The Soviet organisations are organisations of this kind.)

In regard to the second question, concerning the significance of individual dictatorial powers from the point of view of the specific tasks of the present moment, it must be said that large-scale machine industry—which is precisely the material source, the productive source, the foundation of socialism—calls for absolute and strict *unity of will,* which directs the joint labours of hundreds, thousands and tens of thousands of people. The technical, economic and historical necessity of this is obvious, and all those who have thought about socialism have always regarded it as one of the conditions of socialism. But how can strict unity of will be ensured? By thousands subordinating their will to the will of one.

Given ideal class-consciousness and discipline on the part of those participating in the common work, this subordination would be something like the mild leadership of a conductor of an orchestra. It may assume the sharp forms of a dictatorship if ideal discipline and class-consciousness are lacking. But be that as it may, *unquestioning subordination* to a single will is absolutely necessary for the success of processes organised on the pattern of large-scale machine industry. On the railways it is twice and three times as necessary. In this transition from one political task to another, which *on the surface* is totally dissimilar to the first, lies the whole originality of the present situation. The revolution has only just smashed the oldest, strongest

and heaviest of fetters, to which the people submitted under duress. That was yesterday. Today, however, the same revolution demands—precisely in the interests of its development and consolidation, precisely in the interests of socialism—that the people *unquestioningly obey the single will* of the leaders of labour. Of course, such a transition cannot be made at one step. Clearly, it can be achieved only as a result of tremendous jolts, shocks, reversions to old ways, the enormous exertion of effort on the part of the proletarian vanguard, which is leading the people to the new ways. Those who drop into the philistine hysterics of *Novaya Zhizn* or *Vperyod, Dyelo Naroda* or *Nash Vek* do not stop to think about this.

Take the psychology of the average, ordinary representative of the toiling and exploited masses, compare it with the objective, material conditions of his life in society. Before the October Revolution he did *not* see a single instance of the propertied, exploiting classes making any real sacrifice for him, giving up anything for his benefit. He did *not* see them giving him the land and liberty that had been repeatedly promised him, giving him peace, sacrificing "Great Power" interests and the interests of Great Power secret treaties, sacrificing capital and profits. He saw this only *after* October 25, 1917, when he took it himself by force, and had to defend by force what he had taken. Naturally, for a certain time, all his attention, all his thoughts, all his spiritual strength, were concentrated on taking a breath, on unbending his back, on straightening his shoulders, on taking the blessings of life that were there for the taking, and that had always been denied him by the now overthrown exploiters. Of course, a certain amount of time is required to enable the ordinary working man not only to see for himself, not only to become convinced, but also to feel that he cannot simply "take", snatch, grab things, that this leads to increased disruption, to ruin, to the return of the Kornilovs. The corresponding change in the conditions of life (and consequently in the psychology) of the ordinary working men is only just beginning. And our whole task, the task of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks), which is the class-conscious spokesman for the strivings of the exploited for emancipation, is to appreciate this change, to understand that it is necessary, to stand at the head of the exhausted people who are wearily seeking a way out and lead them along the true path, along the path

of labour discipline, along the path of co-ordinating the task of arguing at mass meetings *about* the conditions of work with the task of unquestioningly obeying the will of the Soviet leader, of the dictator, *during* the work.

The "mania for meetings" is an object of the ridicule, and still more often of the spiteful hissing of the bourgeoisie, the Mensheviks, the *Novaya Zhizn* people, who see only the chaos, the confusion and the outbursts of small-proprietor egoism. But without the discussions at public meetings the mass of the oppressed could never have changed from the discipline forced upon them by the exploiters to conscious, voluntary discipline. The airing of questions at public meetings is the genuine democracy of the working people, their way of unbending their backs, their awakening to a new life, their first steps along the road which they themselves have cleared of vipers (the exploiters, the imperialists, the landowners and capitalists) and which they want to learn to build themselves, in their own way, for themselves, on the principles of their own *Soviet,* and not alien, not aristocratic, not bourgeois rule. It required precisely the October victory of the working people over the exploiters, it required a whole historical period in which the working people themselves could first of all discuss the new conditions of life and the new tasks, in order to make possible the durable transition to superior forms of labour discipline, to the conscious appreciation of the necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat, to unquestioning obedience to the orders of individual representatives of the Soviet government during the work.

This transition has now begun.

We have successfully fulfilled the first task of the revolution; we have seen how the mass of working people evolved in themselves the fundamental condition for its success: they united their efforts against the exploiters in order to overthrow them. Stages like that of October 1905, February and October 1917 are of world-historic significance.

We have successfully fulfilled the second task of the revolution: to awaken, to raise those very "lower ranks" of society whom the exploiters had pushed down, and who only after October 25, 1917 obtained complete freedom to overthrow the exploiters and to begin to take stock of things and arrange life in their own way. The airing of questions at public meetings by the most oppressed and downtrodden, by the least educated mass of working people, their

coming over to the side of the Bolsheviks, their setting up everywhere of their own Soviet organisations—this was the second great stage of the revolution.

The third stage is now beginning. We must consolidate what we ourselves have won, what we ourselves have decreed, made law, discussed, planned—consolidate all this in stable forms of *everyday labour discipline*. This is the most difficult, but the most gratifying task, because only its fulfilment will give us a socialist system. We must learn to combine the "public meeting" democracy of the working people—turbulent, surging, overflowing its banks like a spring flood—with *iron* discipline while at work, with *unquestioning obedience* to the will of a single person, the Soviet leader, while at work.

We have not yet learned to do this.

We shall learn it.

Yesterday we were menaced by the restoration of bourgeois exploitation, personified by the Kornilovs... We conquered them. This restoration, this very same restoration menaces us today in another form, in the form of the element of petty-bourgeois laxity and anarchism, or small-proprietor "it's not my business" psychology, in the form of the daily, petty, but numerous sorties and attacks of this element against proletarian discipline. We must, and we shall, vanquish this element of petty-bourgeois anarchy.

The Development of Soviet Organisation

The socialist character of Soviet, i.e., *proletarian*, democracy, as concretely applied today, lies first in the fact that the electors are the working and exploited people; the bourgeoisie is excluded. Secondly, it lies in the fact that all bureaucratic formalities and restrictions of elections are abolished; the people themselves determine the order and time of elections, and are completely free to recall any elected person. Thirdly, it lies in the creation of the best mass organisation of the vanguard of the working people, i.e., the proletariat engaged in large-scale industry, which enables it to lead the vast mass of the exploited, to draw them into independent political life, to educate them politically by their own experience; therefore for the first time a start is made by the *entire* population in learning the art of administration, and in beginning to administer.

These are the principal distinguishing features of the democracy now applied in Russia, which is a higher *type* of democracy, a break with the bourgeois distortion of democracy, transition to socialist democracy and to the conditions in which the state can begin to wither away.

It goes without saying that the element of petty-bourgeois disorganisation (which must *inevitably* be apparent to some extent in *every* proletarian revolution, and which is especially apparent in our revolution, owing to the petty-bourgeois character of our country, its backwardness and the consequences of a reactionary war) cannot but leave its impress upon the Soviets as well.

We must work unremittingly to develop the organisation of the Soviets and of the Soviet government. There is a petty-bourgeois tendency to transform the members of the Soviets into "parliamentarians", or else into bureaucrats. We must combat this by drawing *all* the members of the Soviets into the practical work of administration. In many places the departments of the Soviets are gradually merging with the Commissariats. Our aim is to draw *the whole of the poor* into the practical work of administration, and all steps that are taken in this direction—the more varied they are, the better—should be carefully recorded, studied, systematised, tested by wider experience and embodied in law. Our aim is to ensure that *every* toiler, having finished his eight hours' "task" in productive labour, shall perform state duties *without pay;* the transition to this is particularly difficult, but this transition alone can guarantee the final consolidation of socialism. Naturally, the novelty and difficulty of the change lead to an abundance of steps being taken, as it were, gropingly, to an abundance of mistakes, vacillation—without this, any marked progress is impossible. The reason why the present position seems peculiar to many of those who would like to be regarded as socialists is that they have been accustomed to contrasting capitalism with socialism abstractly, and that they profoundly put between the two the word "leap" (some of them, recalling fragments of what they have read of Engels's writings, still more profoundly add the phrase "leap from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom"). The majority of these so-called socialists, who have "read in books" about socialism but who have never seriously thought over the matter, are unable to consider that by "leap" the teachers of socialism meant turning-points on a world-historical

scale, and that leaps of this kind extend over decades and even longer periods. Naturally, in such times, the notorious "intelligentsia" provides an infinite number of mourners of the dead.

Some mourn over the Constituent Assembly, others mourn over bourgeois discipline, others again mourn over the capitalist system, still others mourn over the cultured landowner, and still others again mourn over imperialist Great Power policy, etc., etc.

The real interest of the epoch of great leaps lies in the fact that the abundance of fragments of the old, which sometimes accumulate more rapidly than the rudiments (not always immediately discernible) of the new, calls for the ability to discern what is most important in the line or chain of development. History knows moments when the most important thing for the success of the revolution is to heap up as large a quantity of the fragments as possible, i.e., to blow up as many of the old institutions as possible; moments arise when enough has been blown up and the next task is to perform the "prosaic" (for the petty-bourgeois revolutionary, the "boring") task of clearing away the fragments; and moments arise when the careful nursing of the rudiments of the new system, which are growing amidst the wreckage on a soil which as yet has been badly cleared of rubble, is the most important thing.

It is not enough to be a revolutionary and an adherent of socialism or a Communist in general. You must be able at each particular moment to find the particular link in the chain which you must grasp with all your might in order to hold the whole chain and to prepare firmly for the transition to the next link; the order of the links, their form, the manner in which they are linked together, the way they differ from each other in the historical chain of events, are not as simple and not as meaningless as those in an ordinary chain made by a smith.

The fight against the bureaucratic distortion of the Soviet form of organisation is assured by the firmness of the connection between the Soviets and the "people", meaning by that the working and exploited people, and by the flexibility and elasticity of this connection. Even in the most democratic capitalist republics in the world, the poor never regard the bourgeois parliament as "their" institution. But the Soviets are "theirs" and not alien institutions to the mass of workers and peasants...

It is the closeness of the Soviets to the "people", to the working people, that creates the special forms of recall and other means of control from below which must be most zealously developed now. For example, the Councils of Public Education, as periodical conferences of Soviet electors and their delegates called to discuss and control the activities of the Soviet authorities in this field, deserve full sympathy and support. Nothing could be sillier than to transform the Soviets into something congealed and self-contained. The more resolutely we now have to stand for a ruthlessly firm government, for the dictatorship of individuals *in definite processes of work,* in definite aspects of *purely executive* functions, the more varied must be the forms and methods of control from below in order to counteract every shadow of a possibility of distorting the principles of Soviet government, in order repeatedly and tirelessly to weed out bureaucracy.

Conclusion

An extraordinarily difficult, complex and dangerous situation in international affairs; the necessity of manoeuvring and retreating; a period of waiting for new outbreaks of the revolution which is maturing in the West at a painfully slow pace; within the country a period of slow construction and ruthless "tightening up", of prolonged and persistent struggle waged by stern, proletarian discipline against the menacing element of petty-bourgeois laxity and anarchy—these in brief are the distinguishing features of the special stage of the socialist revolution in which we are now living.

This is the link in the historical chain of events which we must at present grasp with all our might in order to prove equal to the tasks that confront us before passing to the next link to which we are drawn by a special brightness, the brightness of the victories of the international proletarian revolution.

Try to compare with the ordinary everyday concept "revolutionary" the slogans that follow from the specific conditions of the present stage, namely, manoeuvre, retreat, wait, build slowly, ruthlessly tighten up, rigorously discipline, smash laxity.... Is it surprising that when certain "revolutionaries" hear this they are seized with noble indignation and begin to "thunder" abuse at us for forgetting

the traditions of the October Revolution, for compromising with the bourgeois experts, for compromising with the bourgeoisie, for being petty bourgeois, reformists, and so on and so forth?

The misfortune of these sorry "revolutionaries" is that even those of them who are prompted by the best motives in the world and are absolutely loyal to the cause of socialism fail to understand the particular, and particularly "unpleasant", condition that a backward country, which has been lacerated by a reactionary and disastrous war and which began the socialist revolution long before the more advanced countries, inevitably has to pass through; they lack stamina in the difficult moments of a difficult transition. Naturally, it is the "Left Socialist-Revolutionaries" who are acting as an "official" opposition of *this* kind against our Party. Of course, there are and always will be individual exceptions from group and class types. But social types remain. In the land in which the small-proprietor population greatly predominates over the purely proletarian population, the difference between the proletarian revolutionary and petty-bourgeois revolutionary will inevitably make itself felt, and from time to time will make itself felt very sharply. The petty-bourgeois revolutionary wavers and vacillates at every turn of events; he is an ardent revolutionary in March 1917 and praises "coalition" in May, hates the Bolsheviks (or laments over their "adventurism") in July and apprehensively turns away from them at the end of October, supports them in December, and, finally, in March and April 1918 such types, more often than not, turn up their noses contemptuously and say: "I am not one of those who sing hymns to 'organic' work, to practicalness and gradualism".

The social origin of such types is the small proprietor, who has been driven to frenzy by the horrors of war, by sudden ruin, by unprecedented torments of famine and devastation, who hysterically rushes about seeking a way out, seeking salvation, places his confidence in the proletariat and supports it one moment and the next gives way to fits of despair. We must clearly understand and firmly remember the fact that socialism cannot be built on such a social basis. The only class that can lead the working and exploited people is the class that unswervingly follows its path without losing courage and without giving way to despair even at the most difficult, arduous and dangerous stages. Hysterical impulses are of no use to us. What we

need is the steady advance of the iron battalions of the proletariat.

Written between April 13 and 26, 1918

V.I. LENIN

DRAFT PLAN OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL WORK

The Supreme Economic Council should immediately give its instructions to the Academy of Sciences, which has launched a systematic study and investigation of the natural productive forces* of Russia, to set up a number of expert commissions for the speediest possible compilation of a plan for the reorganisation of industry and the economic progress of Russia.

The plan should include:

the rational *distribution* of industry in Russia from the standpoint of proximity to raw materials and the lowest consumption of labour-power in the transition from the processing of the raw materials to all subsequent stages in the processing of semi-manufactured goods, up to and including the output of the finished product;

the rational merging and concentration of industry in a few big enterprises from the standpoint of the most up-to-date large-scale industry, especially trusts;

enabling the present Russian Soviet Republic (excluding the Ukraine and the regions occupied by the Germans) as far as possible to provide itself *independently* with *all* the chief items of raw materials and organise main branches of industry;

special attention to the electrification of industry and transport and the application of electricity to farming, and the use of lower grades of fuel (peat, low-grade coal) for the production of electricity, with the lowest possible expenditure on extraction and transport;

* *NB: Publication* of this material must be accelerated to the utmost; a note about this must be sent to the Commissariat for Education, the Printing Workers' Trade Union and the Commissariat for Labour.

water power and wind motors in general and in their application to farming.

Written between April 18 and 25, 1918

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. THE FIRST SOVIET CONSTITUTION

By the spring of 1918, the class of the landlords had in the main been liquidated. The land, domestic animals and agricultural implements had been turned over to the peasants, and the landowner yoke had been done away with for ever. The kulaks, however, tried to make use of the agrarian revolution for their own selfish ends. As a result, the class struggle in the countryside intensified. Lenin's Party and the working class rallied the peasant poor together, and roused them to fight against the kulaks, and for a further deepening and unfolding of the socialist revolution.

The decree of June 11, 1918, On the Organisation of and Provision for the Village Poor, was a decisive move in bringing toiling peasants together. Committees of the peasant poor had a major role to play in improving the food supply of the cities and the village poor; it was of supreme importance in the building of the Red Army, the creation of the first collective farms, the launching of large-scale cultural and educational work among the peasantry, and the drawing of the middle peasant to the side of the Revolution.

According to the decision of the Sixth Congress of Soviets, in November 1918 committees of the peasant poor merged with the village Soviets.

The Fifth All-Russia Congress of Soviets, which was convened in Moscow on July 4, 1918, marked the end of the period of preparing and carrying out the Great October Socialist Revolution. The congress adopted the first Soviet Constitution—the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (RSFSR).

FROM THE DECREE OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON THE ORGANISATION OF THE VILLAGE POOR AND THEIR PROVISION WITH GRAIN, VITAL NECESSITIES AND AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

June 11, 1918

1. All over the country, volost and village committees of the peasant poor shall be established; they shall be organised by local Soviets of Peasants' Deputies with the obligatory participation of the food agencies and under the general guidance

of the People's Commissariat for Food and the Central Executive Committee of Soviets. All the Soviets of Peasants' Deputies shall immediately start implementing the present decree...

3. The volost and village committees of the poor shall be concerned with the following matters:

a. Distribution of grain, vital necessities and agricultural implements.

b. Rendering assistance to the local food bodies in requisitioning grain surpluses from the kulaks.

Sverdlov,
Chairman of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee of Soviets
Ulyanov (Lenin),
Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars

THE VOICE OF THE TOILING PEASANTRY NEWSPAPER ON THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE KULAKS IN TULA GUBERNIA

July 10, 1918

The poor peasants welcome the organisation of the village poor. But the kulaks are in a rage, stopping at nothing, even armed resistance and the murder of the poor peasants' organisers and leaders. A stubborn struggle is underway; the poor peasants realise that they must not make concessions to the kulaks, so they are making vigorous efforts: over a dozen meetings have been held and 160,000 poor peasants in more than 40 villages and volosts have united. The left SRs follow in the wake of the kulaks. The kulaks are making use of the left SRs as a screen. The poor peasants regard the left SRs as a party of kulaks.

The agrarian transformations carried out in 1917-1918 were effected in close connection with the organisation of communes, artels and associations for jointly tilling the land. Collective forms of land-tilling were encouraged by the law on the socialisation of land. The Soviet state rendered various kinds of assistance to the agricultural collectives that were emerging in different localities. Their number increased significantly during the period when poor peasants' committees were active, which helped to set them up. In July 1918, there were about 500 communes and collective farms, and by the end of the year, some 1,600.

V.I. LENIN

FROM THE SPEECH TO THE FIRST ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF LAND DEPARTMENTS, POOR PEASANTS' COMMITTEES AND COMMUNES

December 11, 1918

It is impossible to live in the old way, in the way we lived before the war, and the waste of human toil and effort associated with individual small-scale peasant farming cannot continue. The productivity of labour would be doubled or trebled, there would be a double or triple saving of human labour in agriculture and human activity in general if a transition were made from this scattered small-scale farming to collective farming.

The victory of the October Socialist Revolution was legalised in the first Soviet Constitution adopted at the Fifth All-Russia Congress of Soviets on July 10, 1918. The Constitution confirmed the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviets of Workers', Peasants' and Red Armymen's Deputies, and the abolition of private ownership by capitalists and landlords. Exploiters were banned from administrative bodies.

FROM THE CONSTITUTION (FUNDAMENTAL LAW) OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATIVE SOVIET REPUBLIC

Chapter Five

10. The Russian Republic is a free socialist society of all working people of Russia. All power within the boundaries of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic belongs to the entire working population of the country, united in city and village Soviets.

11. The Soviets of areas characterised by specific customs and national composition can be united into autonomous regional unions.

These autonomous regional unions are included, on the principle of federation, in the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic.

12. Supreme power in the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic is vested in the All-Russia Congress of Soviets, and in the interim between the Congresses—in the All-Russia Central Executive Committee of Soviets.

THE SOVIET STATE EMBLEM
FROM THE RECOLLECTIONS OF VLADIMIR BONCH-BRUYEVICH, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE CPC IN 1917-1920

A water-colour of the emblem was received by the Administration Board of the Council of People's Commissars. It was round and had the same symbols as today, but with a long naked sword placed in the middle, which dominated as it were the whole emblem...

Lenin was in his study, talking with Yakov Sverdlov, Felix Dzerzhinsky and some other comrades, when the water-colour was put on his table for him to see...

"Well," he said. "The idea is clear, of course, but why the sword?" and he looked at us questioningly...

"We are fighting, of course, waging a war, and will do so until the dictatorship of the proletariat is consolidated and the Whiteguards and interventionists are all driven from the country, but it does not mean that war, military matters and armed violence will ever be of paramount importance for us.

"We are not out for conquests," Lenin went on to say, "the policy of conquests is utterly alien to us; we are not attacking but beating off internal and external enemies; the war we are waging is defensive, and we will not have a sword for an emblem... We must remove the sword from the emblem of our socialist state," Lenin said and crossed out with a proof-reader's mark in a black, finely sharpened pencil. "All the rest of the emblem is fine...." And he put his signature on the water-colour.

Section Three

The Soviet Republic in the Period of the Imperialist States' Intervention and the Civil War (1918-1920)

BEGINNING OF THE FOREIGN INTERVENTION AND THE CIVIL WAR

The peaceful respite the country won through the conclusion of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty was rather short.

In March 1918, British and French troops landed on the territory of the Soviet Republic, in April Japanese troops followed suit and in August—US troops. The German occupational forces lorded it over in the Ukraine, the Byelorussia, the Crimea and the Transcaucasia. The Czechs mutinied in the Volga Region, the Urals and Siberia. The Czechoslovak Corps, joined by counter-revolutionary forces, started hostilities against Soviet Russia. By the end of the summer, they had captured vast territories: the whole of Siberia, a large part of the Ural Region, Samara, Simbirsk, Kazan. The Whiteguard Volunteer Army seized the Northern Caucasus and Britain sent its troops to Central Asia and the Transcaucasia. By the summer of 1918, three quarters of Soviet Russia's territory had been occupied by the Whiteguards and interventionists. The country was cut off from its major food, raw material and fuel resources. Only the Central Russia gubernias remained in the hands of the Soviet government.

By the autumn of 1918 the Soviet Republic had found itself encircled by frontlines. The most decisive was the Eastern Front. In June-October 1918, the main frontline crossed Siberia, the Volga and the Northern Urals.

The Soviet troops gained a victory at Kazan and Simbirsk (now Ulyanovsk) and liberated Syzran and Samara (now Kuibyshev) in early October, as a result of which the Volga Region was freed from the enemy. Successes scored on the Eastern Front marked a turning-point on the major front of the civil war. The first enemy onslaught had been rebuffed.

V.I. LENIN

FROM THE REPORT AT A JOINT SESSION OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, THE MOSCOW SOVIET, FACTORY COMMITTEES AND TRADE UNIONS

October 22, 1918

No revolution is worth anything unless it can defend itself.

In May and June, well-armed detachments of the Czechoslovaks and Whiteguard officers seized power in many cities of Siberia, the Urals and the Volga Region. However, a considerable number of the Czechoslovaks refused to take part in the mutiny and subsequently many of them enlisted in the Red Army.

RESOLUTION OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK RED ARMY DETACHMENT

May 24, 1918

We, the soldiers of the Vladivostok Czechoslovak Revolutionary Detachment of the socialist Red Army, greet the toiling population of the Far East in the person of its Soviets and declare that the only power we recognise is that of the Soviets, and we are prepared to defend it from all its enemies, both internal and external. We declare that we shall obey only the orders of the CEC and its local executive bodies.

Long live the Russian Soviet Federative Republic!

After the offensive at Petrograd mounted by Pyotr Krasnov in late October 1917 failed, he fled to the Don and became Ataman of the Don Cossack Army. Relying on Germany's assistance, he organised a Cossack army, which in May and June did their best to abolish Soviet power in the Don region. During the Second World War P. Krasnov actively collaborated with the Hitlerites. Taken prisoner by the Soviet troops, he was court-martialled and executed.

FROM A LETTER BY GEN. P. KRASNOV TO GERMAN KAISER WILHELM II

June 28, 1918

I have empowered our *stanitsa** Ataman Zimovoi to beg Your Majesty at Your Majesty's court that you recognise the right of the Great Don Army to independent existence...

To ask Your Majesty's assistance to our young state in the form of supplies of guns, rifles, munitions and engineering property and, if You deem it expedient, in setting up, within the territory under the control of the Don Army, ammunition, shell and cartridge factories...

The Great Don Army grants the German Empire the prefer-

*Large Cossack village.—*Ed.*

ential right to obtain all the surpluses, left after the satisfaction of local requirements, of grain and flour, raw hides and leather goods, wool, fish products, fats and oil, as well as products made of them, tobacco and tobacco products, cattle and horses, grape wines and other orchard and farm produce...

In addition to that, the Government of the Great Don Army will accord German industry special rights of preference in investing capital in the Don enterprises, both industrial and trading.

Respectfully yours,
Maj.-Gen. Pyotr Krasnov,
Ataman of the Don Army

Representatives of the parties of right SRs and Mensheviks took an active part in anti-Soviet plots and mutinies organised by international imperialism and internal counter-revolutionaries. For their anti-Soviet activities they were expelled from the Soviets.

RESOLUTION OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CEC ON EXPELLING REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY PARTIES—THE PARTY OF SOCIALIST-REVOLUTIONARIES (RIGHT AND CENTRIST) AND THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY (MENSHEVIKS) FROM THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF SOVIETS AND FROM LOCAL SOVIETS

June 14, 1918

Taking into account:

(1) that Soviet power is now going through an exceptionally difficult period, having simultaneously to rebuff the onslaught both of international imperialism on all the fronts and of its allies inside the Russian Republic, who use every means at their disposal, from the most malicious slander to plots and armed mutinies, to combat the Workers' and Peasants' Government;

(2) that the presence in Soviet organisations of representatives of the parties, which are openly trying to discredit and overthrow the power of Soviets, cannot be tolerated;

(3) that from the documents published earlier, as well as from those read out at the current session, it becomes clear that representatives of the Party of Socialist-Revolutionaries (Right and Centrist) and the Russian Social-Democratic

Labour Party (Mensheviks), up to the most responsible figures among them, have all been exposed as guilty of organising armed actions against the workers and peasants in alliance with overt counter-revolutionaries:

on the Don—with Kaledin and Kornilov, in the Urals—with Dutov, in Siberia—with Semyonov, Khorvat and Kolchak, and finally, in the recent days—with the Czechoslovaks and the Black Hundreds siding with them...

The All-Russia Central Executive Committee of Soviets resolves:

To expel representatives of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party (Right and Centrist) and of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (Mensheviks) from its membership, and to propose to the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', Peasants', and Cossacks' Deputies to remove representatives of these factions from their midst.

Yakov Sverdlov,
Chairman of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee of Soviets

On May 29, 1918, the All-Russia CEC adopted a resolution on the general mobilisation of the workers and the peasant poor into the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. On July 12, 1918, the first mobilisation was announced, and on July 8, the Fifth All-Russia Congress of Soviets legalised the formation of the army on the principle of compulsory military service, which provided for building up a mass regular army on a more solid basis.

FROM THE 1918 CONSTITUTION OF THE RSFSR

19. With the aim of fully defending the gains of the Great Workers' and Peasants' Revolution, the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic recognises the duty of all citizens of the Republic to defend the socialist homeland and establishes universal compulsory military service. The sacred right to defend the revolution with arms is granted only to working people; non-working elements are charged with the performance of other military duties.

FROM THE SOLEMN OATH OF THE RED ARMYMEN ENLISTING IN THE RANKS OF THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' RED ARMY

1. As a son of the toiling people and a citizen of the Soviet Republic, I assume upon myself the title of soldier of the Workers' and Peasants' Army.

2. I swear to the toiling classes of Russia and of the whole world that I shall bear this title with honour...

3. I swear strictly and inexorably to observe revolutionary discipline....

4. I swear to abstain myself and prevent my comrades from committing any actions that may discredit or humiliate the dignity of a citizen of the Soviet Republic, and to direct all my actions and thoughts towards attainment of the great goal of liberating all working people.

5. I swear to come to the defence of the Soviet Republic against any threats and attempts from all its enemies at the first call of the Workers' and Peasants' Government, and not to spare either my strength or life itself in the struggle for the Russian Soviet Republic, for the cause of socialism and the fraternity of the peoples.

(The text of the Military Oath was approved in April 1918. The Oath was solemnly read out by all soldiers in the Red Army).

On August 30, 1918, Fanny Kaplan, member of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, made an attempt on the life of Lenin when he spoke before workers at the Mikhelson Works (now the *Vladimir Ilyich* Works). As a result of the attempt Lenin was severely wounded.

FROM THE APPEAL OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CEC IN CONNECTION WITH THE ATTEMPT ON THE LIFE OF LENIN

August 30, 1918

The working class will answer assassination attempts on its leaders by still greater consolidation of its forces and by ruthless mass terror against all enemies of the Revolution....

Maintain order and organisation! Everybody must remain at their posts. Close ranks!

Yakov Sverdlov,
Chairman of the All-Russia CEC

THE GERMAN OCCUPATION HAS FAILED

The German occupation has caused innumerable sufferings to the working people of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic Region and the Transcaucasia. The occupied districts have been plundered. So the peoples of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic Region and other temporarily occupied areas of the country have arisen to struggle against the German occupants.

A REPORT ON THE STRUGGLE OF THE PINSK UYEZD PEASANTS AGAINST GERMAN OCCUPANTS

August 10, 1918

The peasants of the districts under the German and the landlord yoke are dreaming of liberation. The landlords hold sway over the peasants and make the peasants work for them without any remuneration. The peasants organise detachments under the pressure of utter need. They have no right to go to their own patches of land with sickle or scythe, and all their possessions have been taken away from them by the German authorities. The best forests have all been felled. The peasants are straining their very last strength to combat imperialism. They unanimously render support to Soviet power, because it is the only salvation for the peasant poor and for the workers.

After the November 1918 revolution in Germany, which toppled the monarchy there, the All-Russia CEC annulled, on November 13, the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty and called on the peoples of the German-occupied territories to fight the invaders. German and Austrian occupation forces were driven *en masse* from the Soviet land.

Under the mighty onslaught of the Red Army and the partisan detachments, the German and Austrian troops retreated from the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltic Region. Soviet power was restored in the liberated territories.

FROM THE RESOLUTION OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CEC ON THE ANNULMENT OF THE BREST-LITOVSK PEACE TREATY

November 13, 1918

The All-Russia Central Executive Committee solemnly declares that the terms of the peace treaty signed with Germany on March 3, 1918 in Brest-Litovsk, have lost their force and meaning. The Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty ... as a whole and in all its clauses is declared cancelled....

Greeting the population of all the regions liberated from the yoke of German imperialism, the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic calls on the working masses of these regions to form a fraternal alliance with the workers and peasants of Russia, and promises its all-out, full support in their struggle to establish worker-peasant socialist power on their land.

The rapacious peace treaty we had to sign in Brest-Litovsk has been done away with.

Long live genuine peace—a worldwide alliance of the working people of all nations!

Sverdlov,
Chairman of the All-Russia CEC,
Ulyanov (Lenin),
Chairman of the CPC

THE ENTENTE IS MOUNTING UP ITS INTERVENTION

After Germany had sustained defeat in the First World War, the Entente imperialists stepped up their struggle against the Soviet Republic. In the new offensive launched by the Entente in the autumn of 1918, the main blow was dealt in the south of Russia. In late November 1918, French troops occupied Odessa, Sevastopol, Novorossiisk and other Russia's southern seaports.

The numbers of interventionists had also grown in the North and the Far East. In November, British troops landed in Baku and Batumi.

FROM THE NOTE OF THE ENTENTE ALLIED SUPREME COMMAND "ON THE NECESSITY OF THE ALLIES' INTERVENTION IN RUSSIA"

January 18, 1918

...The Bolshevik regime is incompatible with the establishment of a lasting peace.

The Entente powers are vitally interested in destroying it as soon as possible, so their joint duty consists in combining their efforts with this purpose in view....

There is an urgent need to come to an agreement about the principles to underlie the intervention in Russia, to specify concrete obligations, and to provide for a single command.

The agreement must be the initial stage in the establishment of peace.

The Bolsheviks carried out active political propaganda and agitation among the French military units deployed in the south of Russia, despite the fact that it was punishable by shooting on the spot.

Under the impact of the propaganda and agitation, disturbances began in the ranks of French soldiers and sailors, and in the summer of 1919, the French government had to withdraw its land forces and the Navy from Russia's south.

The blows dealt by the Red Army and the revolutionary propaganda conducted by the Bolshevik underground organisations quickly

demoralised the interventionist troops, so the Entente imperialists had to recall them from Russia. Only the Japanese invaders stayed in the Far East.

V.I. LENIN

FROM THE SPEECH AT THE SEVENTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS

December 5, 1919

The victory we won in compelling the evacuation of the British and French troops was the greatest of our victories over the Entente countries. We deprived them of their soldiers. Our response to the unlimited military and technical superiority of the Entente countries was to deprive them of it through the solidarity of the working people against the imperialist governments.

THE SOVIET COUNTRY IS A SINGLE MILITARY CAMP

In connection with the deadly threat hanging over the Soviet Republic the Communist Party and the Soviet government adopted resolute measures to mobilise all the country's forces for the defeat of the enemy. They declared the country to be a military camp. A regular Workers' and Peasants' army, numbering five million men by the end of the war, was organised on the class principle to fight the interventionists and the Whiteguards. The army's backbone was made up by Communists and Komsomol members, who selflessly fought for the Revolution.

It was necessary to mobilise all the country's strength and resources for the purposes of defence, so the system of extraordinary measures, generally known as war communism, had to be introduced. The main component part of the new regime was the requisitioning of food surpluses. The policy of war communism served to realise in practice a military and political alliance between the working class and the middle peasants who comprised the bulk of the peasantry.

FROM THE RESOLUTION OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CEC ON TURNING THE SOVIET REPUBLIC INTO A MILITARY CAMP

September 2, 1918

Face to face with imperialist aggressors, who are doing all in their power to strangle the Soviet Republic and tear

its corpse to pieces; face to face with Russia's bourgeoisie who have raised high the yellow banner of betrayal, thus giving away the worker-peasant country to the jackals of foreign imperialism, the Central Executive Committee of Soviets of Workers', Peasants', and Armymen's and Cossacks' Deputies resolves:

The Soviet Republic shall be turned into a military camp.

The Revolutionary Military Council led by a single Supreme Commander shall be put at the head of all fronts and all military institutions of the Republic.

All forces and means possessed by the Socialist Republic shall be placed at the disposal of the sacred cause of armed struggle against the offenders....

FROM THE DECREE OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS OF THE RSFSR ON THE FOOD SURPLUS REQUISITIONING QUOTAS OF GRAIN AND FORAGE TO BE ALIENATED FOR THE NEEDS OF THE STATE IN THE PRODUCING GUBERNIAS

January 11, 1919

Alienation of grain and forage for the needs of the state ... in order to urgently satisfy the requirements in bread on the part of the Red Army and the grainless districts, shall be subject to the following order:

1. The entire amount of grain and forage needed to meet the requirements of the state shall be divided into quotas among the grain-producing gubernias to be alienated from the population.

2. Gubernias covered by the Food Surplus Requisitioning System, as well as the amount of grain and forage to be requisitioned in each gubernia shall be set by the People's Commissariat for Food in accordance with the size of the harvest, the grain stored and the norms of consumption.

V.I. LENIN

ON THE WORKING CLASS'S MILITARY-ECONOMIC ALLIANCE WITH THE PEASANTRY

(FROM THE REPORT ON THE TACTICS OF THE R.C.P. TO THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL ON JULY 5, 1921)

...Our alliance with the peasantry could not possibly have lasted any length of time without the economic foundation, which was the basis of our victory in the war against our bourgeoisie: After all our bourgeoisie has united with the whole of the international bourgeoisie.

The basis of our economic alliance with the peasantry was, of course, very simple, and even crude. The peasant obtained from us all the land and support against the big landowners. In return for this, we were to obtain food.... The peasants gave their produce to the Red Army and received from the latter assistance in protecting their possessions....

During the Civil War we were cut off from all the grain districts of Russia. We were in a terrible position, and it looks like a miracle that the Russian people and the working class were able to endure such suffering, want, and privation, sustained by nothing more than a deep urge for victory.

The Eighth Congress of the RCP(B), which was held in March 1919, adopted a new Party Programme. This second Programme, defining the tasks for the entire period of transition from capitalism to socialism, gave the workers and peasants a clear perspective of socialist construction.

FROM THE PROGRAMME OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (BOLSHEVIKS)

In the Economic Area

1. To steadily continue and carry through that expropriation of the bourgeoisie which is currently in progress and which has, in the main, been completed; and to turn the means of production and circulation into the property of the Soviet Republic, i.e., into the common property of all working people.

One of the main items on the agenda of the Eighth Congress of the RCP(B) was the question of the attitude toward the middle peasants, who comprised almost 60 per cent of the total peasant population at the end of 1918. The Congress adopted Lenin's "Resolution on the Attitude to the Middle Peasants". The Party set upon a course of firm alliance between the

working class and the middle peasants. The implementation of Leninist policies facilitated the toiling peasants' turning to the side of Soviet government.

FROM THE RESOLUTION OF THE EIGHTH CONGRESS OF THE RCP(B) ON THE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE MIDDLE PEASANTS

As concerns work in the countryside, the Eighth Congress, guided by the second party Programme, adopted on March 22, 1919, and wholeheartedly supporting the law enacted by the Soviet government on socialist land distribution and measures of transition to socialist agriculture, admits that at the present moment it is of particular importance to assume a more regular Party line toward the middle peasants in terms of a greater effort to reach agreement with them, a greater attention toward their needs, and the elimination of arbitrary rule on the part of local authorities.

On April 12, 1919, Communists of the Moscow Marshalling Yard of the Moscow-Kazan Railway organised the first communist *subbotnik* in the history of the Soviet state [free work for the nation on Saturday—Russian *subbota*]. Fifteen people took part in it (13 Party members and two sympathisers). In the latter half of 1919, communist subbotniks, which Lenin had called "the great beginning", spread throughout the country. The first All-Russia Communist Subbotnik on May 1, 1920 involved 15 million people. Among the participants was Lenin himself.

V.I. LENIN

FROM *A GREAT BEGINNING*

Heroism of the Workers in the Rear. "Communist Subbotniks"

The press reports many instances of the heroism of the Red Armymen. In the fight against Kolchak, Denikin and other forces of the landowners and capitalists, the workers and peasants very often display miracles of bravery and endurance, defending the gains of the socialist revolution....

The heroism of the workers in the rear is no less worthy of attention. In this connection, the communist *subbotniks* organised by the workers on their own initiative are really of enormous significance. Evidently, this is only a beginning, but it is a beginning of exceptionally great importance....

In order to achieve victory, in order to build and consolidate socialism, the proletariat must fulfil a twofold or dual task: first, it must, by its supreme heroism in the revo-

lutionary struggle against capital, win over the entire mass of the working and exploited people; it must win them over, organise them and lead them in the struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie and utterly suppress their resistance. Secondly, it must lead the whole mass of the working and exploited people, as well as all the petty-bourgeois groups, on to the road of new economic development, towards the creation of a new social bond, a new labour discipline, a new organisation of labour, which will combine the last word in science and capitalist technology with the mass association of class-conscious workers creating large-scale socialist industry.

The second task is more difficult than the first, for it cannot possibly be fulfilled by single acts of heroic fervour; it requires the most prolonged, most persistent and most difficult mass heroism in *plain, everyday* work. But this task is more essential than the first, because, in the last analysis, the deepest source of strength for victories over the bourgeoisie and the sole guarantee of the durability and permanence of these victories can only be a new and higher mode of social production, the substitution of large-scale socialist production for capitalist and petty-bourgeois production.

* * *

"Communist subbotniks" are of such enormous historical significance precisely because they demonstrate the conscious and voluntary initiative of the workers in developing the productivity of labour, in adopting a new labour discipline, in creating socialist conditions of economy and life....

Communism begins when the *rank-and-file workers* display an enthusiastic concern that is undaunted by arduous toil to increase the productivity of labour, husband *every pood of grain, coal, iron* and other products, which do not accrue to the workers personally or to their "close" kith and kin, but to their "distant" kith and kin, i.e., to society as a whole, to tens and hundreds of millions of people united first in one socialist state, and then in a union of Soviet republics....

We must give very great thought to the significance of the "communist subbotniks", in order that we may draw all the very important practical lessons that follow from this great beginning.

The first and main lesson is that this beginning must be given every assistance.

June 28, 1919

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Cultural development, which began immediately following the first days of the October revolution, did not cease in the hard years of the civil war. The political enlightenment of the working people gained momentum, illiteracy began to be eliminated and a system of public general education, cultural, educational and scientific institutions were formed. These years saw the first Soviet successes in science, literature, and the fine arts.

Political posters came to be an effective political weapon during the civil war. Posters by the artists Viktor Deni (Denisov) and Dmitry Moor (Orlov) won special recognition. Monumental propaganda was used extensively. Cultural development helped achieve victory over the Whiteguards and the interventionists and educate the new generation in the spirit of communism.

The Statute and the Declaration on the Single Labour School in the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic decreed by the All-Russia Central Executive Committee on October 16, 1918, outlined the basic guidelines of transforming public education. These documents instituted single labour schools divided into two types—one for children from 8 to 13 years of age, and the other, for the teenagers from 13 to 18. Tuition was made free; the need for polytechnical education stressed.

From the All-Russia Central Executive Committee's Decree

"STATUTE OF THE SINGLE LABOUR SCHOOL IN THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATIVE SOVIET REPUBLIC"

II. Basic Principles of School Work

Art. 12. Productive labour shall form the basis of all school life.... Productive labour should be closely and organically linked up with education which illuminates with the light of knowledge all life around.

One the eve of the October revolution over three-quarters of Russia's population could not read or write.

In pursuance of the decree "On the Liquidation of Illiteracy Among the Population of the RSFSR" issued by the Council of People's Commissars in December 1919, an All-Russia Extraordinary Commission to Liquidate Illiteracy was set up in July 1920. A far-flung network of centres to wipe out illiteracy mushroomed throughout the country.

FROM COMMUNICATIONS SENT TO THE ALL-RUSSIA EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSION TO LIQUIDATE ILLITERACY

1920

Archangel

Provincial and uyezd commissions to combat illiteracy have been set up, consisting of public-education workers, representatives of the cultural enlightenment committees, the Red Army, Party committees, trade unions and the Komsomol. "A week for the Combat of Illiteracy" is sponsored. School workers take the lead in the work under way.

Tobolsk

Activities to wipe out illiteracy have begun well. The population at large supports them, both the Russians and the people of other nationalities.

To make it easier for the young industrial workers and peasants to enter institutions of higher learning, the latter began to run the so-called "workers' faculties". In September 1920, Lenin signed the Decree on Workers' Faculties, which gave legal force to their work and clearly defined their tasks. Students of workers' faculties had the same rights as general students and received stipends. The graduates of the workers' faculties formed the backbone of the qualitatively new socialist intelligentsia, who rose from the people and were inseparably linked up with them.

When the Great Patriotic War broke out, the workers' faculties ceased to exist.

ACADEMICIAN NIKOLAI TSITSIN

A START IN LIFE

The young republic was in dire need of specialists. The workers' faculties enrolled the most inquisitive, energetic people who were thirsty for knowledge. For me, just as for the thousands of my mates who also entered the workers' faculties, the right granted me by my trade-union branch to become a workers' faculty student marked a start in life.

For most of us studies proved an extremely formidable undertaking: at best we had little education, if any. The grave economic situation in the country increased the difficulties. Hunger and typhus did not leave us alone. In the first year ten of us shared one manual, there was one candle per two desks, we got a ration of a pound of sun-flower seed cake instead of bread. We were short of paper—two thin note-books

were given to us once a month. To make up for the short supply, we wrote on newspapers and magazines.

Well, what did the workers' faculty give me? Having graduated from it, I was able to enter an agricultural college. That choice was not accidental. From my boyhood I was interested in plants, I loved to plant trees and raise flowers. I love Nature. Perhaps, that was because I was brought up in a peasant's family. I took my degree in grain selection, and since then, I've been devoted to that problem, devoted to the study of the most vital of all crops in man's life—wheat.

September 1970

The Communist Party and the Soviet government paid special attention to developing higher learning in the non-Russian Republics. On September 7, 1920, Lenin signed a decree by the RSFSR Council of People's Commissars on setting up the Turkestan State University in Tashkent—the first institution of higher learning in Central Asia. The professor and lecturers who had arrived in Taskent from Moscow and Petrograd helped greatly in the organisation and arrangement of the work of that university.

RESOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS ON INSTITUTING THE TURKESTAN STATE UNIVERSITY

The Council of People's Commisars resolves:

(1) To institute in the city of Tashkent a State University; (2) The Turkestan State University shall be in the direct jurisdiction of the People's Commissariat of Education of the RSFSR; (3) The means to maintain the university shall be forthcoming from the funds of the same Commissariat.

Among the first scientists who rendered a helping hand to Soviet power were Kliment Timiryazev, Ivan Pavlov, Ivan Michurin, Konstantin Tsiolkovsky, Nikolai Zhukovsky and many other scholars and researchers.

RESOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS IN CONNECTION WITH THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RESEARCH WORK OF NIKOLAI ZHUKOVSKY*

December 3, 1920

Marking the fifty years of Professor Zhukovsky's scientific activity and recognising his tremendous services as the "father of the Russian aviation", the Council of People's Commissars resolves:

1. To relieve Professor Nikolai E. Zhukovsky of routine lecturing, enabling him to deliver at his will courses of a more important scientific nature.

2. To give him a monthly pay of one hundred thousand (100,000) roubles with account taken of the future possible increases in the tariff rates.

3. To institute the Zhukovsky Prize to be awarded yearly for scientific works in mathematics and mechanics by a jury consisting of Professor Zhukovsky and representatives of the State Learned Council, the Russian Academy of Sciences, the physico-mathematical faculty of Moscow State University and the Moscow Mathematical Society, one from each.

4. To publish Zhukovsky's works.

Ulyanov (Lenin),
Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars
Bonch-Bruyevich,
Executive Secretary of the Council of People's Commissars

The CPC decree on the Republic's historical monuments was permeated with Lenin's idea about monumental propaganda. The decree greatly facilitated the flourishing of the Soviet monumental arts. Monuments were erected in the squares and parks of cities and towns, and memorial plaques placed on buildings of historical interest. Lenin often made a speech during unveiling ceremonies. The monumental propaganda was greatly contributed by Sergei Merkurov, Nikolai Andreev, S. Mezentzev, Sergei Konenkov, Vera Mukhina, Ivan Shadr and other outstanding artists.

*Nikolai Zhukovsky (1847-1921)—a prominent scientist and engineer, inventor of the fundamentals of theoretical and experimental aerodynamics. He introduced an aviation speciality in the Moscow High Technical School (today the institute named after Nikolai Bauman). That made it possible to found after the October Revolution the Moscow Aviation Institute and the Military Air Engineering Academy. On his proposal the Central Aerohydrodynamic Institute was created in 1918, which he headed in the last years of his life.—*Ed.*

EXCERPT FROM THE CPC DECREE ON THE REPUBLIC'S MONUMENTS

April 12, 1918

To mark the great revolution which has re-made Russia, the CPC resolves:

1. The monuments erected in honour of the tsars and their servitors which present no interest from a historical or artistic aspect, shall be removed from squares and streets... .

3. ... to mobilise the artistic forces and hold a large competition to design monuments that will symbolise the great days of the Russian Socialist Revolution.

EXCERPT FROM VLADIMIR NEMIROVICH-DANCHENKO'S* SPEECH AT A JUBILEE MEETING TO COMMEMORATE THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MOSCOW ACADEMIC ART THEATRE OF THE USSR

The October Socialist Revolution has radically changed the conditions of our work. It has freed us from economic dependence on the bourgeois share-holders and patrons. It has oppened for us the road to the people.

Having come in touch with the people, we found before us, in the theatre, a wonderful audience, extraordinary sensitive to everything that is profound and beautiful. We saw that the revolution, far from preventing the cultural development, as some bourgeois intellectuals had been inclined to think, has, by contrast, created fertile soil for the true flourishing of art....

PERFORMANCES BY THE ART THEATRE

The Moscow Art Theatre decided to give several performances for the workers in the outlying districts of Moscow.

*Vladimir Nemirovich-Danchenko (1858-1943)—an outstanding figure in the Soviet theatrical art. Together with Konstantin Stanislavsky, he founded in 1898 a so-called "generally accessible" theatre (today the Moscow Academic Art Theatre of the USSR named after Maxim Gorky), which he headed till the end of his days.

The theatre created by Konstantin Stanislavsky and Vladimir Nemirovich-Danchenko has had a tremendous impact on the development of the Soviet and world art.—*Ed.*

These performances are intended for the public who are unable to visit the Art Theatre or any theatre at all.

The first performance on June 1 proved to be a great success.

Pravda, June 7, 1918

ROUT OF THE INTERVENTIONISTS AND WHITEGUARDS IN 1919-1920

Having failed to strangle the young Soviet Republic by their own troops, the Entente imperialists tried to destroy it using the internal and external counter-revolutionary forces and staking first on Kolchak and Denikin, and then on the White Poles and Wrangel. But the Red Army put to the rout all these crusades.

In early 1919, the counter-revolutionaries placed their main bets on Kolchak. Backed by the Entente imperialists, Kolchak succeeded in forming a 400,000-strong Whiteguard army by the spring of that year. Early in March the Kolchak army, supported by the interventionists and the Whiteguards on the other fronts, took the offensive on Vyatka, Kazan, Samara and Saratov. Its aim was to join forces with the interventionist troops in the North and the Denikin army in the South. The summer of 1919 was set as the time of the general offensive on Moscow. The deadly danger was looming large over the Soviet Republic. The Eastern front became the main front, decisive to the future of the Soviet state.

On April 11, 1919, Lenin wrote the Theses of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) on the Situation on the Eastern Front, setting forth before Party organisations a concrete programme for mobilising all forces to defeat Kolchak.

V.I. LENIN

FROM THE THESES OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (BOLSHEVIKS) ON THE SITUATION ON THE EASTERN FRONT

The Central Committee appeals to all Party organisations and all trade unions to set to work in a revolutionary way, and not confine themselves to the old stereotyped methods.

We can defeat Kolchak. We can gain an early and final victory, because our victories in the South and the international situation, which is daily improving and changing in our favour, guarantee our ultimate triumph.

We must exert every effort, display revolutionary energy,

and Kolchak will be rapidly defeated. The Volga, the Urals and Siberia can and must be defended and regained.

Central Committee
of the Russian Communist Party
(Bolsheviks)

In the latter part of April and early in May 1919, the Red Army commanded by Mikhail Frunze and operating in the Buzuluk area, took a counter-offensive against Kolchak. In the beginning of June the Southern group of the Eastern Front captured Ufa. Great credit in the successful Ufa operation goes to the 25th Division led by Vasily Chapayev—the hero of the civil war. His regiments were the first to force the Belaya River. On June 9, after the hard-fought battles, they freed Ufa. The fall of Ufa signified a decisive change in the hostilities on the entire Eastern Front.

EXCERPT FROM THE ORDER OF THE MILITARY REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL AWARDING THE ORDER OF THE RED BANNER TO VASILY I. CHAPAYEV

July 14, 1919

... His persistent and lightning blows and skilful manoeuvres halted the enemy's offensive and in some six weeks he seized the towns of Buguruslan, Belebei and Ufa, thus saving the Middle-Volga Region and bringing back the Ufa-Samara grain area. In the battle near Ufa (June 8, 1919) he personally led the troops forcing the crossing over the Belaya River and was wounded in the head. But he did not leave the ranks and guided the operation to the end, capturing the town of Ufa.

The freeing of the Urals from the Kolchak counter-revolutionary forces and their retreat to the East in Siberia marked a major victory of the Red Army on the Eastern Front. In his "Letter to the Workers and Peasants Apropos of the Victory over Kolchak", Lenin revealed the significance and lessons of that victory.

V. I. LENIN

FROM THE LETTER TO THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS APROPOS OF THE VICTORY OVER KOLCHAK

Comrades, Red troops have liberated the entire Urals area from Kolchak and have begun the liberation of Siberia. The workers and peasants of the Urals and Siberia are enthu-

siastically welcoming Soviet power, for it is sweeping away with an iron broom all the landowner and capitalist scum who ground down the people with exactions, humiliations, floggings, and the restoration of tsarist oppression.

Although we all rejoice at the liberation of the Urals and the entry of the Red troops into Siberia we must not allow ourselves to be lulled into a sense of security. The enemy is still far from being destroyed. He has not even been definitely broken.

Every effort must be made to drive Kolchak and the Japanese and other foreign bandits out of Siberia, and an even greater effort is needed to destroy the enemy, to prevent him from starting his banditry again and again.

How is that to be achieved?

The harrowing experience of the Urals and Siberia, as well as the experience of all countries which have been through the torments of the four years of imperialist war, must not be without its lessons for us.

Here are the five chief lessons which all workers and peasants, all working people, must draw from this experience so as to ensure themselves against a repetition of the calamities of the Kolchak rule.

First lesson. In order to defend the power of the workers and peasants from the bandits, that is, from the landowners and capitalists, we need a powerful Red Army. We have proved—not by words but by actual deeds—that we are capable of creating it, that we have learned to direct it and to defeat the capitalists notwithstanding the lavish assistance in arms and equipment they are receiving from the richest countries in the world.

Second lesson. The Red Army cannot be strong without large state stocks of grain, for without them it is impossible to move an army freely or to train it properly. Without them we cannot maintain the workers who are producing for the army.

Every class-conscious worker and peasant must know and remember that the chief reason now that our Red Army successes are not swift and stable enough is precisely the shortage of state stocks of grain. He who does not give his surpluses of grain to the state is helping Kolchak, he is a traitor and betrayer of the workers and peasants and is responsible for the unnecessary death and suffering of tens of thousands of workers and peasants in the Red Army.

Third lesson. If Kolchak and Denikin are to be completely

destroyed the strictest revolutionary order must be maintained, the laws and instructions of the Soviet government must be faithfully observed, and care must be taken that they are obeyed by all.

Kolchak's victories in Siberia and the Urals have been a clear example to all of us that the least disorder, the slightest infringement of Soviet laws, the slightest laxity or negligence at once serve to strengthen the landowners and capitalists and make for their victory....

The slightest lawlessness, the slightest infraction of Soviet law and order is a *loophole* the foes of the working people take immediate advantage of, it is a *starting-point* for Kolchak and Denikin victories. It would be criminal to forget that the Kolchak movement began through some slight lack of caution in respect of the Czechoslovaks, with insignificant insubordination on the part of certain regiments.

Fourth lesson. It is criminal to forget not only that the Kolchak movement began with trifles but also that the Mensheviks ("Social-Democrats") and S.R.s ("Socialist-Revolutionaries") assisted its birth and directly supported it. It is time we learned to judge political parties not by their words, but by their deeds.

The Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries call themselves socialists, but they are actually *abettors of the counter-revolutionaries*, abettors of the landowners and capitalists. This was proved in practice not only by isolated facts, but by two big periods in the history of the Russian revolution: (1) the Kerensky period, and (2) the Kolchak period. Both times the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, while professing to be "socialists", actually played the role of *abettors of the whiteguards*... .

In Russia class-conscious workers and peasants now realise that the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries are abettors of the whiteguards—some deliberate and malicious, others unwitting and because of their persistence in their old mistakes, but abettors of the whiteguards nevertheless.

Fifth lesson. If Kolchak and his rule are to be destroyed and not allowed to recur, all peasants must unhesitatingly make their choice in favour of the workers' state. Some people (especially the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries—all of them, even the "Lefts" among them) are trying to scare the peasants with the bogey of the "dictatorship of one party", the Party of Bolsheviks, Communists.

The peasants have learned from the Kolchak regime not to be afraid of this bogey.

Either dictatorship (i.e., the iron rule) of the landowners and capitalists, or the dictatorship of the working class.

There is no middle course.

The workers' state is the only loyal friend and helper the working people and the peasantry have. No leaning towards capital but an alliance of the working people to fight it, *workers' and peasants' power, Soviet power*—that is what the "dictatorship of the working class" means in *practice*.

The Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries want to scare the peasants with these words. They won't succeed. After Kolchak, the workers and peasants even in the most remote backwoods realise that these words mean *precisely that without which there can be no salvation from Kolchak....* An implacable fight against capital, and an alliance of the working people, an alliance of the peasants and the working class—that is the last and most important lesson of the Kolchak regime.

August 24, 1919

The 5th Army commanded by Mikhail Tukhachevsky (1893-1937) had played the main role in liberating the Urals and finally routing Kolchak's troops. On November 14, 1919, its troops captured Omsk, Kolchak's base.

The Republic's Military Revolutionary Council awarded Mikhail Tukhachevsky, the Commander of the 5th Army, the Order of the Red Banner.

ORDER OF THE MRC OF THE REPUBLIC AWARDING MIKHAIL TUKHACHEVSKY, COMMANDER OF THE 5TH ARMY, WITH THE ORDER OF THE RED BANNER

August 7, 1919

To award with the Order of the Red Banner:

The Commander of the 5th Army Comrade Tukhachevsky for his following distinctions. The valiant troops of the 5th Army under the skilful leadership of their Commander—Comrade Tukhachevsky—after routing the enemy's main force in bitter fighting have crossed the Urals. Buguruslan, Bugulma, Virsk and Zlatoust have fallen under our blows thanks to the daring manoeuvres of the Army, which were conducted by Comrade Tukhachevsky.

On July 24, 1919, the heroic units of the 3rd Brigade of the 27th Rifle Division seized Chelyabinsk. The enormous success scored by the Army is largely the result of the operational plan which Comrade Tukhachevsky had ingeniously contrived and firmly implemented.

In May 1919, the Entente imperialists threw the Yudenich Whiteguard troops on to Petrograd, in a bid to help Kolchak. The city was defended by the troops of the 7th Army and the Baltic Fleet. Rodzyanko's Northern Corps managed on May 13 to make a break-through at the Narva sector of the front and seize Gdov and Yamburg. Petrograd—the cradle of the proletarian revolution—was gravely imperilled. The Petrograd proletariat rose to a man to defend the city. Thousands upon thousands of Communists and Komsomol members joined the ranks of the city's defenders. The heroic war efforts of the Petrograd workers, commanders and men of the 7th Army halted Yudenich's offensive.

EXCERPT FROM THE APPEAL OF THE RCP(B) CC TO ALL PARTY, SOVIET AND TRADE UNION ORGANISATIONS TO MOBILISE FORCES TO DEFEND PETROGRAD

May 22, 1919

Red Petrograd is gravely endangered. The Petrograd front is becoming the most important among all other fronts of the Republic.

Soviet Russia just cannot surrender Petrograd even for a short time.

Petrograd must be defended at all costs. For the significance of that city, which was the first to raise the banner of armed struggle against the bourgeoisie and was the first to win a decisive victory, is too great.

The Petrograd proletariat never spared efforts, delegating thousands of freedom fighters to all the fronts. It is time now that all Soviet Russia helped Petrograd.

Below we cite an excerpt from an article by D. Novoplensky, who tells of the heroic death of the former general Alexander Nikolayev. Nikolayev was one of those officers of the tsarist army, who, after the victory of the revolution, gave their knowledge and experience to create and build up the Red Army.

Alexander Nikolayev was Commander of the 3rd Brigade of the Petrograd Division. He was taken prisoner in the village Popkova Gora and was hanged on the Bazarnaya (today Nikolayevskaya) square in the town of Yamburg (today Kingisepp). He was posthumously awarded the Order of the Red Banner.

"MY HOMELAND I SHALL NOT TRADE"

When the Whiteguards captured Alexander Nikolayev in the village of Popkova Gora where his headquarters were stationed, they saluted him:

"You are free, your Excellency. Lead us on to Petrograd."

"My Homeland I shall not trade"—was Nikolayev's answer. "And you, lieutenant, are a scoundrel!"

Rodzyanko, Commander of the Whiteguard corps, invited Nikolayev for conversation three times. He tried to persuade him, insisted and intimidated. He would not believe that the old general with a service record of 42 years and a host of orders and medals, a man who commanded a division on the Russo-German front, that that man could have joined the Bolsheviks of his own will. Witnesses tell that when on May 28 Nikolayev was brought to the Bazarnaya Square in Yamburg and faced the gallows, Rodzyanko again addressed him, urging him to come to his senses and repent. Nikolayev answered that he would sooner die than betray his people. His last words were addressed to his executioners.

"You are taking my life, you've taken everything, but never will you deprive me of the belief in the future happiness of my people."

He himself fastened the loop round his neck and a Whiteguard knocked the stool from under his feet. In a few days, his corpse was thrown into a pit, and in August, when Yamburg was liberated, his remains were brought to Petrograd and buried with honour.

Pravda, May 2, 1967

After the German invaders were driven from the Ukrainian soil, the enemies of the revolution made an all-out effort to prevent Soviet power from being restored there. The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists formed the so-called *Directoria** headed by Petlyura. The broad masses of the Ukrainian workers and peasants rose in arms to fight the interventionists and the *Directoria*.

On February 5-6, 1919, the Soviet Ukrainian regiments headed by the people's heroes Nikolai Shchors and Vasily Bozhenko liberated Kiev. In February, Soviet power was restored in practically the whole of the Ukraine.

The Petlyura troops took refuge in the Western Ukraine occupied by Poland.

In the summer of 1919, the Denikin Whiteguard army armed by the imperialists began its advance towards Moscow.

*Counter-revolutionary bourgeois-nationalistic government.—*Ed.*

On July 9 a letter "All out for the Fight against Denikin", signed by Lenin and endorsed by the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (B), was made public. That appeal met with a fervent response of the entire Party, the workers and peasants of the country. Thousands of Communists, Komsomol members and front-rank workers were sent to fight on the Southern Front.

ALL OUT FOR THE FIGHT AGAINST DENIKIN!

LETTER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (BOLSHEVIKS) TO PARTY ORGANISATIONS (EXTRACT)

Comrades,

This is one of the most critical, probably even the most critical moment for the socialist revolution....

The foreign capitalists are now making a desperate effort to restore the yoke of capital by means of an onslaught by Denikin, whom they have supplied with officers, shells, tanks, etc., etc., as they once did Kolchak.

All the forces of the workers and peasants, all the forces of the Soviet Republic, must be harnessed to repulse Denikin's onslaught and to defeat him, without checking the Red Army's victorious advance into the Urals and Siberia.

In the autumn of 1919, the civil war reached the apex of intensity. The Denikin Army captured Orel and was approaching Tula. Never before had the Whiteguard armies moved so close to Moscow, the capital of Soviet Russia. The Krasnov troops operated in the Don Region and the Northern Caucasus, while the Petlyuraites and Makhnoites were ravaging in the Ukraine. In the East, in Siberia and the Urals, hostilities with the Kolchak troops continued. Yudenich threatened Petrograd.

Exerting an all-out effort, the Red Army withstood the onslaught of the enemy and in October took a counter-offensive. The Whiteguard troops suffered a defeat.

EXCERPT FROM THE MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE RCP(B) CC ON THE SITUATION ON THE FRONTS

October 15, 1919

I. Recognising the existence of the most ominous danger, virtual conversion of Soviet Russia into a military camp must be effected. ...

III. Tula, Moscow and their approaches shall not be surrendered, during the winter-time make preparations for a general offensive. Petrograd must not be surrendered. Dispatch

as many men as possible from the Belomorsky Front to defend the Petrograd region. Help Petrograd by sending it some cavalry.

In the autumn of 1919, a specially hard situation took shape in the South, Denikin's Army was approaching Tula, threatening Moscow. The Party Central Committee and the Soviet government took a number of extraordinary steps to strengthen the Southern Front. Formation of large and mobile cavalry units capable of pressing the Whiteguard armies and their cavalry was one such step. A slogan was advanced: "The Proletarian—Saddle the Horse".

On November 11, 1919, Alexander Egorov, the Commander-in-Chief of the Southern Front, and Joseph Stalin, Member of the Front Military Revolutionary Council, submitted to the MRC of the Republic a proposal to form a Cavalry Army. With Lenin's consent, the Council adopted a corresponding resolution. On November 19, the Command of the Southern Front issued an order transforming Semyon Budyonny's Cavalry Corps into the First Cavalry Army. That Army became the main shock force of the Southern front. Participating in the general offensive against Denikin, it won big victories over the Whiteguard cavalry group consisting of three corps and led by generals Ulagai, Mamontov and Shkuro. On January 8, 1920, the troops of the First Cavalry Army captured Rostov, driving a wedge between the main Whiteguard forces—the Don and the Volunteer Armies.

ORDER OF THE MILITARY REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL OF THE FIRST CAVALRY ARMY CONVERTING THE CAVALRY CORPS INTO THE FIRST CAVALRY ARMY

December 6, 1919

The MRC of the Cavalry Army faces an extremely difficult and responsible task—it must weld together the units of the Red cavalry into a single, morally strong and revolutionarily disciplined Red Cavalry Army.

In commencing the discharge of its duties, the MRC emphasises the great historic juncture now faced by the Soviet Republic and the Red Army, which is dealing a final and fatal blow to the Denikin hordes, and calls upon all men, commanders and political commissars to exert every effort to organise the Army. It is essential that every rank-and-file should only act as such, scrupulously fulfilling orders, but be also aware of the great goals for which he fights and dies.

We are firmly convinced that the task will be accomplished and the Army, strong not only by virtue of its enthusiasm, but also by its high political awareness and morale, marching towards victory and ruthlessly destroying by iron regiments and divisions the Denikin hordes, is sure to write down many a

glorious page in the history of the struggle for workers' and peasants' Soviet power.

Long live the First Red Cavalry Army!

Long live the forthcoming victory!

Climent Voroshilov
Semyon Budyonny
Efim Shchadenko
Military Revolutionary Council

FROM THE RESOLUTION OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CEC TO AWARD COMRADE EGOROV* WITH HONORARY REVOLUTIONARY WEAPONS

February 17, 1921

Having assumed command of the Southern Front armies on October 13, 1919—and that was a period when our troops were retreating under the blows of the Denikin troops to the North and surrendered Orel—Comrade Egorov was quick to restore the combat capacity of the Southern Front units. He passed over to the decisive offensive, which in four months and a fortnight brought us to the shores of the Black and Azov Seas and resulted in the rout of Denikin's main forces....

At a time of the biggest successes of the Denikin army in October 1919, Yudenich, supported by the British Navy, once more launched an offensive against Petrograd and came close to the city. Petrograd's defenders turned it into an impregnable fortress, and, beginning a counter-offensive, hurled the enemy back. Yudenich's dispersed units crossed the frontiers of Estonia and were interned there.

Down below we give an excerpt from the reminiscences of Nikolai Podvoisky, testifying to the selfless devotion and labour heroism of the Petrograd workers during Yudenich's offensive in the autumn of 1919.

At that time Nikolai Podvoisky was Member of the Military Revolutionary Council of the 7th Army, which defended Petrograd.

*Alexander Egorov (1883-1939)—member of the Communist Party since 1918, was born in Buzuluk. During the First World War was colonel of the tsarist army and commander of the regiment. After the October Revolution, he sided with the Soviet government and served it loyally. During the civil war he led the 9th Army which in the autumn of 1918 defeated the Krasnov troops. In December 1918, he was appointed Commander of the 10th Army, which defended Tsaritsin. When Denikin's troops pressed hard towards Tula, he was made Commander of the Southern Front. In 1920, Egorov was in command of the South-Western Front.—*Ed.*

NIKOLAI PODVOISKY

COMMUNARDS DEFEND PETROGRAD

... What was going on in those days on the Putilov, Obukhov and Izhora works defies description.

Orders poured in from all sides and the Works' Committees were ordered to fulfil them. And they did. Indeed, miracles were worked as if in a wonder land. Armoured trains, whose repairs customarily took weeks on end, were repaired in a few hours. In a short span of time the gunnery division of the Putilov Works had overhauled 72 guns, 8 armoured trains, 6 armoured engines, 25 vehicles, to say nothing of many thousands of individual details and parts.

It is here that our first tanks—"caterpillars"—were produced.

The rush orders averaged 70 a day. The factories had to produce all sorts of armaments necessary for defence.

The Izhora Works did not cease functioning for a single minute; the productivity of the Works increased strikingly although the Whiteguards stood a mile and a half from it. Besides shelling, rifle and machine-gun fire drummed on the Works roof. But the nearer the Whites approached, the greater was the amount of weapons put out to destroy them. After having worked their shift, the workers went to dig the trenches, denying themselves the well-deserved rest. Bread rations were not issued for a few days, but this did not affect the scale of work. At the same time, preparations were made for the prompt evacuation of the Works. Calculations show, that in that short time, the Works turned out as big an output as it normally produced in more than three months. Foremen did not leave the premises of the Izhora, Putilov and other works for weeks on end.

In early 1920, the main internal counter-revolutionary forces—the Whiteguard armies of Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenich—were liquidated. The remnants of the Kolchak army were taken prisoner near Krasnoyarsk.

On February 7, 1920, fulfilling the resolution of the Irkutsk Revolutionary Committee, Kolchak was executed by firing squad. At the beginning of 1920, the Northern Front was liquidated, too.

A peaceful respite followed after the decisive victories on the civil war fronts. On Lenin's proposal, the Seventh Congress of Soviets held in December 1919, adopted a resolution stating that the Land of Soviets was inexorably striving for peace. That was the eleventh peace proposal of the Soviet government, but it met with the same response as all the preceding ones—refusal.

FROM THE RESOLUTION OF THE SEVENTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS ON FOREIGN POLICY

December 5, 1919

... The Seventh All-Russia Congress of Soviets reaffirms its invariable striving for peace, proposing once again to all the Entente powers—Britain, France, the United States of America, Italy and Japan—to begin, multilaterally and unilaterally, peace negotiations, and instructs the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, the Council of People's Commissars, and the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs persistently to carry out the policy of peace, taking all the steps essential for its success.

Mikhail Kalinin,
Chairman of the 7th All-Russia Congress of Soviets

Acting on its recognition of the full independence of the Polish State, the Soviet government proposed in January 1920, to start negotiations on concluding a stable peace between Russia and Poland. Having first given its consent to the negotiations, the Polish government frustrated them, and fulfilling the Entente's will, unleashed on April 25, 1920, war against the Soviet Republic. On May 6, the Polish interventionists seized Kiev.

Taking a counter-offensive, the troops of the Western Front (Commander Mikhail Tukhachevsky) and of the South-Western Front (Commander Alexander Egorov) liberated the Byelorussian and the Ukrainian areas occupied by the White Poles.

EXCERPT FROM THE APPEAL OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CEC TO THE PEOPLE OF POLAND

February 2, 1920

The Central Executive Committee of the Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, the supreme representative body of the Russian working people, reiterates the proposal made by the Soviet government to the Polish people in the appeal of the Council of People's Commissars of January 30, 1920, and calls upon the Polish people to give up their mistrust of the Russian working people, and stop the war, so as to enable the two peoples to fight the scourges plagueing them—cold, hunger, typhus, and unemployment.

The Committee extends its greetings to the Polish people, who had been oppressed by Russian tsarism and the Russian

bourgeoisie—our common foes—and who was the hardest hit of all the peoples by the capitalist-inspired war. It expresses its firm belief that everything that divides our peoples can be removed in a peaceful way, by establishing good-neighbourly relations.

It hopes that by joint efforts the most peaceable and the most friendly relations will be created between the peoples of Poland and Soviet Russia.

Mikhail Kalinin,
Chairman of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee

CABLE BY FRUNZE* TO LENIN, THE CC OF THE RCP(B), THE CC OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UKRAINE AND THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS OF THE UKRAINE ABOUT THE FINAL DEFEAT OF WRANGEL

November 15, 1920

Melitopol

Today our units entered Sevastopol. The powerful blows of the Red regiments have finally smashed the South-Russian counter-revolution. The possibility opens up before an exhausted country to heal the wounds inflicted by the imperialist and civil wars. The revolutionary enthusiasm displayed by the Red Army in the past battles provides a guarantee that no less brilliant victories will also be scored by workers' Russia in the peaceful construction.

The Red armies of the Southern Front extend their greetings and congratulate with victory the workers and peasants of Russia and the world at large, their Commander-in-Chief and all the leaders of the international revolution.

Mikhail Frunze,
Commander of the Southern Front

THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL ALLIANCE OF SOVIET REPUBLICS

The military and political alliance of Soviet peoples was tempered in the battles they fought together against the Whiteguards and the interventionists.

*Mikhail Frunze (1885-1925)—an outstanding military leader. During the civil war he led the 4th Army, the Southern Group of Troops of the Eastern Front, the Turkestan and the Southern fronts.—*Ed.*

Heeding the will of the supreme bodies of Soviet Republics to unite all forces for an armed struggle against the enemies of Soviet power, the All-Russia Central Executive Committee issued a decree "On the Unification of Soviet Republics of Russia, the Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia to Combat World Imperialism". As new Soviet Republics arose, they also joined that military alliance.

The civil war in Central Asia, Transcaucasia and in the Far East proceeded in especially hard conditions. Being the border regions, they were the first to be attacked by foreign interventionists and the latter were able to hold out there longer than in other areas. The working class in these regions was numerically weak. That accounted for the greater influence the nationalist bourgeoisie exerted on the working people generally. Moreover, the Red Army could come to the succour of the workers and other working people in the border regions only after it had routed the main Whiteguard armies shielding these areas. Without its assistance, the working people of these regions were unable to crush the counter-revolutionary forces entrenched there.

EXCERPT FROM THE ALL-RUSSIA CEC DECREE "ON THE UNIFICATION OF THE SOVIET REPUBLICS OF RUSSIA, THE UKRAINE, LATVIA, LITHUANIA, BYELORUSSIA TO COMBAT WORLD IMPERIALISM"

June 1, 1919

The military alliance of all ... Soviet Socialist Republics should serve as the first response to the offensive of common enemies. For that reason, while fully recognising the independence, freedom and self-determination of the working people of the Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia and the Crimea ... the All-Russia Central Executive Committee of Soviets finds it necessary to unite closely (1) the military organisation and the military command, (2) the councils of national economy, (3) the railway management and the economy, (4) finances, and (5) the labour commissariats of the Soviet Socialist republics of Russia, the Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, and the Crimea so as to concentrate the guidance of the above sectors of people's life in the hands of single collegiums.

Mikhail Kalinin,
Chairman of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee

Having successfully smashed Kolchak's main forces on the Eastern front, it became now possible to set about liberating the territory of Kazakhstan and Central Asia from interventionists and internal counter-revolutionaries. Challenging severe climatic conditions, the Red Army successfully coped with that task. In the autumn of 1919 they approached Krasnovodsk. Early

in February, 1920, the whole of the Transcaspian area (today the territory of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic) was freed of interventionists and Whiteguards.

Down below we reproduce the reminiscences of M. Shchepotkin, who took part in the Tedzhen march.

M. SHCHEPOTKIN

THE TEDZHEN MARCH

The march on Tedzhen on July 6 and 7, 1919, was, perhaps, the most difficult of all the marches on the Transcaspian Front. It was undertaken in two columns—one went along the railway line, the second, across the sands to the lower reaches of the River Tedzhenka. I marched with the second column. We had to cover some 80 kilometres across the arid sands.

We marched all night. The day broke, but the pace did not slow down. By mid-day our stock of water ended. The sand was so hot, that our leather-clad feet burned. Mouths dried, tongues stiffened and wouldn't move. And all around, as far as the eye could see, not a single tree, not a hint of shade. The ranks of the Red Armymen were now in disarray.

But they marched on, carrying full combat outfits, across the scorched desert, losing consciousness and collapsing, getting up and marching on and on and on. Those who fainted were given exceptional treatment—their lips were moistened with a wet rag—there was no water for drinking.

The vanguard reached water just before sunset. Water was provided for those still on the way.

At the dawn, after a three-hour rest, we stormed Tedzhen and liberated it.

Two very backward feudal and despotic states—Khiva and Bukhara—existed apart from Turkestan in Central Asia.

In the latter part of August 1920, the working people of Bukhara rose up in arms against the Emir. A Provisional Revolutionary Committee was set up. It asked for help from the Soviet government. The Soviet troops of the Turkestan Front, commanded by Mikhail Frunze, advanced to help the rebels. On September 2 after three days of bitter fighting the rebels and the Red Army units captured the old fortress of Bukhara. The Emir fled. As a result of the victorious people's revolution, Bukhara turned from the stronghold of reaction and counter-revolution into a forepost of Soviet power in the East.

ORDER OF MIKHAIL FRUNZE, COMMANDER OF THE TURKESTAN FRONT, ON RENDERING RED ARMY'S ASSISTANCE TO THE WORKING PEOPLE OF BUKHARA TO FREE THEMSELVES FROM THE EMIR'S OPPRESSION

August 31, 1920

To all headquarters, Bukhara, Chardzhou, and the Army Commander I.

The revolutionary movement in Bukhara has come to a head. Time has arrived for the Bukhara oppressed masses to ask for the fraternal aid of Soviet Russia.

My order to all army units is to help the oppressed people of Bukhara.

All Red Armymen, commanders and commissars must do their revolutionary duty, the Bukhara working masses must be freed.

Long live the Red Soviet Bukhara!

M. Frunze,
Commander of the Turkestan Front

After the Red Army defeated Denikin and liberated the North Caucasus the working people in the Transcaucasia stepped up their struggle against the interventionists and the bourgeois nationalistic governments. The Russian Federation's help contributed greatly to that struggle.

The first to ask for aid was the provisional Soviet government of Azerbaijan, which had been formed by workers and peasants following the deposition of the *Mussavat* bourgeois nationalistic government. On April 28, 1920 the units of the 11th Army marched into Baku, helping to seal the victory of the workers who had risen up in arms.

On November 29, 1920, as a result of the victorious people's uprising, Armenia was proclaimed a Soviet Socialist Republic and a Military-Revolutionary Committee was set up there. It sent a message of greetings to Lenin, asking the Soviet Government to give help to Soviet Armenia. Troops of the 11th Army were sent from Azerbaijan to Armenia, helping finally to liquidate the *Dashnak* dictatorship.

By the end of 1920, Soviet power was established practically in the whole of Transcaucasia. Georgia remained the last stronghold of counter-revolutionaries. The anti-popular policies of the Menshevik Government caused a nation-wide unrest there. On February 1921, an armed uprising prepared by the Georgian Communists flared up.

Acting on the Resolution of the RCP(B) CC, the troops of the 11th Army stationed in Azerbaijan and Armenia hurried to the assistance of the rebels. On February 25, detachments of the revolutionary rebels and the units of the 11th Army entered Tiflis (today Tbilisi). That day came to be a red-letter day of Soviet power's victory in Georgia.

The alliance treaties on cooperation in the military and economic fields

between the Russian Federation and the other socialist republics which arose in the territory of the country towards the end of the civil war, marked another step forward to the establishment in this country of a single multinational state.

EXCERPTS FROM THE TREATY BETWEEN THE RSFSR AND THE AZERBAIJAN SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLIC ON THE MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ALLIANCE OF THE TWO REPUBLICS

September 30, 1920

The government of the Azerbaijan Socialist Soviet Republic, on the one hand, and the government of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, on the other, being aware of the profound identity of the interests of the working masses of Azerbaijan and Russia and believing that it is only full unification of all the forces of both fraternal republics that can assure them success in the severe struggle against the common enemy—the imperialist bourgeoisie, have resolved to conclude the present treaty, for which purpose they have nominated their persons authorised [then follows the list of representatives].

The designated persons authorised after producing their credentials, which were found formally valid, have agreed on the following:

1. Azerbaijan and Russia hereby conclude a close military and financial and economic alliance.

2. The government of Azerbaijan and the government of the RSFSR will henceforth unite: (1) military organisation and military command, (2) bodies in charge of the national economy and foreign trade, (3) bodies in charge of supplies, (4) railway and water transport and post and telegraph services, (5) the financial departments... .

The Communist Sergei Lazo (1894-1920) was an outstanding organiser and leader of the partisan movement in Siberia and the Far East.

Below we publish an excerpt from Lazo's speech in the officers' school on the Russky (Russian) Island, where he secretly arrived fulfilling the order of the Military-Revolutionary Staff. After his speech most of the students proclaimed their neutrality, many opted for participation in an armed uprising against the White power in the Primorie (Maritime) Area. The excerpt is given in the wording of Moses Gubelman, a veteran Bolshevik. During the civil war he, together with Lazo, led the partisan movement in the area, being a Commissar in the Interim Military-Revolutionary Committee of the Primorie Area.

Early in April 1920, Lazo and members of the Military-Revolutionary

Staff Alexei Lutsky and Vsevolod Sibirtsev were treacherously seized by the Japanese. The interventionists subjected them to interrogations and tortures, and then passed them on to the Whiteguard gang led by Bochkarev. The Whiteguards threw Lazo, Lutsky and Sibirtsev into the locomotive's furnace at the Muravyovo-Amurskaya Railway Station [now the Lazo station].

"ON WHOSE SIDE ARE YOU, RUSSIAN PEOPLE?"

"Well, whose side do you take, you, Russian people, the young people of Russia?"—Lazo said excitedly, loudly and with inspiration. These words attracted the listeners. The noise began to subside. "I've come to you alone, unarmed," Lazo went on. "You can take me as a hostage.... Kill me...."

Now complete silence reigned.... "Before you is Vladivostok—that splendid Russian city, the last on your road! You have nowhere to retreat—farther on an alien land lies ... alien soil ... and alien sun."

"Shut up", someone cried out hysterically.

"Don't interrupt, let him speak"—other voices demanded. And Lazo continued:

"No, we, revolutionaries, have never sold our Russian souls in the foreign taverns, we've never bartered it for foreign gold and guns.... We aren't mercenaries, we defend our land with our own hands, we won't spare ourselves and will give our lives in the fight for our Homeland against the foreign invasion!"

And, winding up, he said: "It is for this Russian soil, on which I am now standing, that we shall die before we give it away to anybody!..."

In February 1922, violent fighting flared up near the Volochayevka station, on the approaches to Khabarovsk.

In their hope to rout the troops of People's Revolutionary Army (PRA) of the Far Eastern Republic* and take a decisive offensive on Chita, the Whiteguards concentrated large forces near Volochayevka. But on February 5 the PRA units led by Vasily Blyukher passed over to a counter-offensive and on February 12, freed Volochayevka, and pursuing the enemy, entered Khabarovsk on February 14.

Below we cite an excerpt from the reminiscences of A. Zakharov,** a participant in the battle of Volochayevka.

*Eager to avoid war with Japan and liberate the Far East in a short time, the Central Committee and the Soviet government deemed it expedient to form such a political entity as the Far Eastern Republic. Communists were playing the leading role in the affairs of the Republic. To defend it, a People's Revolutionary Army was created.

**In the fight near Volochayevka A. Zakharov acted as the commander of the 12th Regiment, which advanced in the main sector. For the unprecedented valour displayed in that battle the Regiment was awarded the Order of the Red Banner and renamed the 6th Volochayevka Regiment.—*Ed.*

A. ZAKHAROV

ASSAULT

At nine a.m. the artillery of our armoured trains began to thunder—that was a signal for a general offensive. The lines got to their feet and without shooting, in complete silence, rushed to the enemy entrenchments.

When we approached the barbed wire, the Whites met us with a hail of bullets. But nobody wavered. Notwithstanding the frost, hunger, thirst and fatal fatigue and overstrain, the men fought with an unbreakable Bolshevik will, with the hearts of the Bolsheviks beating in them.

Tearing the barbed wire with their own bodies, they forged forward, teeth clenched, eyes glowing with final determination. Most perished instantaneously, caught in the metal mesh under the hurricane of bullets and splinters.

But no one thought of retreating.

With every minute, the barbed nets grew thinner and rarer.... Just two last rows remained. The strong stakes yielded to the final desperate onslaught, cracked and fell. The gap opened and the wave of people gushed into it like water into a breached dam.

The enemy wavered and began a disorderly retreat from the ice-clad entrenchments. Volochayevka had fallen.

In October 1922, the units of the People's Revolutionary Army and the partisan detachments liberated from the Whiteguards practically the whole of the Primorie Area. On October 25, they moved into Vladivostok. On November 14, 1922, the People's Assembly of the Far Eastern Republic resolved to proclaim Soviet power in the entire Far East, and requested the All-Russia Central Executive Committee to grant it permission to join the Russian Federation.

EXCERPT FROM THE ALL-RUSSIA CEC DECREE ON THE UNIFICATION OF THE RSFSR WITH THE FAR EASTERN REPUBLIC

November 15, 1922

The Presidium of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee puts on record the resolution of the People's Assembly of the Far Eastern Republic on self-liquidation, the establishment of the power of Soviets in the territory of the Far East and the Far Eastern Republic's joining Soviet Russia....

Declaring the Far Eastern Republic in its present bound-

aries, including the zone occupied by foreign troops, an indivisible part of the RSFSR, the Presidium of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee endorses the Revolutionary Committee set up in the Far East.

Mikhail Kalinin,
Chairman of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee

THE KOMSOMOL—THE COMRADE-IN-ARMS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The Komsomol (Young Communist League) was founded on October 29, 1918, by the First All-Russia Congress of the leagues of young workers and peasants held in Moscow. During the civil war the Komsomol (YCL) carried out three mobilisations of its members—over 30,000 Komsomol members were mobilised in May 1919, over 21,500, in October 1919, and over 30,000, in May 1920. All in all, 200,000 Komsomol members fought at the fronts of the civil war. During the mobilisation days many Komsomol cells volunteered to a man for the front. Signs hung on the doors of their premises announcing: "Closed. The District Committee had gone to the Front".

The Komsomol members were appointed unit commanders and conducted political work among the troops. Quite a few Komsomol members carried out the work of political leaders, commissars, functionaries of political bodies, operated behind the enemy lines in towns and villages captured by the interventionists and Whiteguards. For feats of valour over 5,000 Komsomol members were awarded the Order of the Red Banner, and in 1928 that Order was awarded to the Komsomol as a whole.

In April 1919, Kolchak's Army approached Samara. The city's Komsomol Committee, following the example of the Party Committee, announced the mobilisation of its members and set up a Military Staff, which engaged in the military training of the young people. Two-thirds of the Samara Komsomol members joined the First Samara Communist Regiment.

The Komsomol members and the young people of Samara made up a large detachment which operated as part of the First Volunteer Communist Regiment. In the battles against the Whiteguards they displayed great valour and heroism.

Below we give an excerpt from the reminiscences of Sergei Ilyin, a Komsomol member from 1918.

THE KOMSOMOL AT THE BATTLE-FRONTS OF THE CIVIL WAR

The Komsomol members and the youth generally frequented the Komsomol Provincial Committee, asking to be sent to the front. Komsomol groups arrived from the Sergiyevka, Stavropol, and Buguruslan branches. Without putting down their kit bags, they accommodated themselves in the Committee's club, saying

they wouldn't leave it unless they were sent to the front.

The Samara Komsomol members insisted on priority to go to the front.

Throughout 1919 and the early 1920, the Komsomol members constantly replenished Red Army units at the front. Our city club had to be closed, the Komsomol Bureau moved to the premises of the Provincial Party Committee.

The day-to-day work carried out by the Komsomol members in the rear was just as hazardous as the combat performance of their comrades at the battle-fronts. Thousands of young Communists and the Komsomol members formed the so-called food detachments, helping to implement the requisitioning system and confiscating surplus grain from the kulaks.

EXCERPT FROM A LETTER BY A YOUNG PETROGRAD WOMAN WORKER GLASHA SHERNIKOVA—COMMISSAR OF THE FOOD DETACHMENT

Dear girl-friends,

I work as a Commissar of the Food and Agitation Detachment.* It is not an easy job. The kulaks hide grain. The poor and the middle peasants are with us. Rumours spread that the Whiteguards are near.... Yesterday, at a meeting for a long time we were persuading the peasants to hand over the grain. The kulaks are active. One lad, Komsomol member, was brutally murdered, his only "guilt" being that he indicated one kulak who had hidden grain. We attended his funeral. At his grave I couldn't speak out all I felt—tears choked me. There is food enough around, but I am pinched with work and thoughts. I contrive all means to procure as much grain as possible to feed the hungry workers in Moscow and Petrograd. The kulaks revolted in the nearby villages. This night I'll have to go there. People in that Soviet have to be helped out....

Remember me, please, and send me the newspapers.

Kisses. *Yours Glasha.*

When Denikin's troops occupied Odessa, the Bolshevik and the Komsomol organisations had to go underground. Fulfilling Party assignment, the Komsomol members procured weapons, disseminated papers and leaflets among the popu-

*In 1919, two types of food detachments began to be set up in Petrograd. Alongside the ordinary ones, detachments were formed which received the nomination of food-and-agitation detachments. Their task was to procure grain and at the same time carry out Party and cultural and educational work.—*Ed.*

lation and the Denikin rank-and-file and maintained communications with the rebel detachments.

The Whiteguard intelligence managed to seize seventeen Komsomol members. They were brutally tortured. Especially cruel was their manhandling treatment of a twenty-year-old Komsomol member Ida Krasnoshchekina.

On January 18, 1920, nine out of the seventeen, including Ida, were executed. Next day the underground paper *Odessky Kommunist* carried Ida Krasnoshchekina's death-letter.

IDA KRASNOSHCHEKINA'S LETTER

Dear and near ones,

In 24 hours I'll be hanged as an "object-lesson to posterity".

I am leaving this world fully realising that I have done my duty by the revolution. I haven't had time to do much. But this cannot be helped. I am absolutely sure that the trial of the seventeen will have a greater impact on the revolution, than the death of the nine of them.

In October 1920, the Third Congress of the Russian Young Communist League was held in Moscow. One of the speakers at the Congress was Lenin. He set forth the tasks facing the Komsomol, emphasised the need for the youth to get theoretical and practical knowledge and the skill to use it in work, and dealt with the communist education of the younger generation. His speech has become a programme to be followed by the entire Soviet youth.

V. I. LENIN

THE TASKS OF THE YOUTH LEAGUES
SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE THIRD ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF THE RUSSIAN YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

October 2, 1920
(excerpts)

Comrades, today I would like to talk on the fundamental tasks of the Young Communist League and, in this connection, on what the youth organisations in a socialist republic should be like in general.

It is all the more necessary to dwell on this question because in a certain sense it may be said that it is the youth that will be faced with the actual task of creating a communist society....

In dealing from this angle with the tasks confronting the youth, I must say that the tasks of the youth in general, and of the Young Communist Leagues and all other organisations in particular, might be summed up in a single word: learn.

Of course, this is only a "single word". It does not reply to the principal and most essential questions: what to learn, and how to learn?

I must say that the first and most natural reply would seem to be that the Youth League, and the youth in general, who want to advance to communism, should learn communism.

But this reply—"learn communism"—is too general. What do we need in order to learn communism?...

We shall be unable to solve this problem unless we clearly realise that only a precise knowledge and transformation of the culture created by the entire development of mankind will enable us to create a proletarian culture. The latter is not clutched out of thin air; it is not an invention of those who call themselves experts in proletarian culture. That is all nonsense. Proletarian culture must be the logical development of the store of knowledge mankind has accumulated.

...We must replace the old system of instruction, the old cramming and the old drill, with an ability to acquire the sum total of human knowledge, and to acquire it in such a way that communism shall not be something to be learned by rote, but something that you yourselves have thought over, something that will embody conclusions inevitable from the standpoint of present-day education.

That is the way the main tasks should be presented when we speak of the aim: learn communism....

Confronting you is the task of economically reviving the whole country, of reorganising and restoring both agriculture and industry on modern technical lines, based on modern science and technology, on electricity. You realise perfectly well that illiterate people cannot tackle electrification, and that elementary literacy is not enough either. It is insufficient to understand what electricity is; what is needed is the knowledge of how to apply it technically in industry and agriculture, and in the individual branches of industry and agriculture. This has to be learnt for oneself, and it must be taught to the entire rising generation of working people. That is the task confronting every class-conscious Communist, every young person who regards himself a Communist and who clearly understands that, by joining the Young Communist League, he has pledged himself to help the Party build communism....

You must train yourselves to be Communists.... The entire purpose of training, educating and teaching the youth of today should be to imbue them with communist ethics.

But is there such a thing as communist ethics? Is there

such a thing as communist morality? Of course, there is.... Our morality stems from the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat.... The class struggle is continuing and it is our task to subordinate all interests to that struggle. Our communist morality is also subordinated to that task. We say: morality is what serves to destroy the old exploiting society and to unite all the working people around the proletariat, which is building up a new, a communist society.

Communist morality is based on the struggle for the consolidation and completion of communism. That is also the basis of communist training, education, and teaching. That is the reply to the question of how communism should be learnt....

The Young Communist League will justify its name as the League of the young communist generation only when every step in its teaching, training and education is linked up with participation in the common struggle of all working people against the exploiters.

The Young Communist League should teach all young people to engage in conscious and disciplined labour from an early age. In this way we can be confident that the problems now confronting us will be solved.

Section Four

The USSR in the Years of Construction of the Economic Foundations of Socialism (1921-1932)

REHABILITATION OF THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMY TRANSFER TO THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY (1921-1925)

After the end of the civil war and foreign military intervention, the Soviet State entered a period of peaceful socialist construction.

The economic situation in the Soviet State was extremely difficult. The output of large-scale industry was only 14 per cent of the pre-war figure (the First World War of 1914-1918), while steel output was less than 5 per cent. Agricultural production had diminished by almost half. Most enterprises were closed down because of lack of fuel and raw materials and the population was in urgent need of basic manufactured goods. The famine in 1921 exacerbated the situation of the masses.

Internal counter-revolutionaries sought to make use of the difficulties experienced by the Soviet country during the transition from war to peace and of the discontent among the peasants caused by the requisitioning of farm produce. They managed to stir up several kulak risings, and, in March 1921, to organise a counter-revolutionary mutiny in Kronstadt.

The policy of war communism, conducted by the Soviet government during the civil war, proved to be in sharp contradiction with the conditions for a peaceful development of the country. What was needed was a transition to new methods of economic development.

To rehabilitate the national economy, involve the peasants in the process of socialist construction and strengthen the alliance between the working class and the peasants, it was necessary to develop and sustain economic ties between town and countryside, to promote trade between state-owned industry and small-scale agricultural production.

The Tenth Congress of the RCP(B), held in March of 1921, adopted a decision to change over to a New Economic Policy worked out by Lenin.

The first step of the New Economic Policy was to eliminate the requisitioning of farm produce in favour of a tax in kind which amounted to half of what was previously requisitioned. The tax levied on wealthy peasants was considerably higher that that levied on poor peasants, who, moreover, were offered various benefits. Once taxes had been paid peasants were allowed to market food surpluses. These measures urged the peasants to produce more, and hence facilitated an overall rise in the country's agricultural output. This had been the primary objective and its solution made it possible to develop state-owned industry, i.e., to begin the building of a socialist economy.

The introduction of the tax in kind led to a restoration of free private trade. This entailed a certain revival of capitalism; private small-scale enterprises came back to life, and the number of kulaks began to rise. This, of

course, posed a certain threat to socialist construction. However, the Soviet State was fully able to cope with this threat inasmuch as it continued to control the key sectors of the national economy: the land, banks, industry, and foreign trade. The State restricted the rise of the kulaks and established its own control over private capital, setting up certain boundaries for its development. Therefore the renascence of capitalism did not represent an irremovable hazard.

Lenin suggested that private capital be channelled into state capitalism. As one of its forms, he suggested the lease of some industrial enterprises to foreign capitalists in order to speed up the rehabilitation of large-scale industry. Such enterprises, operating under the state control, would facilitate the process of socialist construction. Lenin defined the significance and content of the new policy in his work *The Tax in Kind*. He substantiated the economic policy of the proletarian state during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and, in conjunction with the new conditions, further developed the theses on the building of the foundations of socialism which he had set forth in the spring of 1918 in his work *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government*.

The Soviet people had to solve the tasks involved in the restoration of the national economy under incredibly difficult conditions of hostile capitalist encirclement. The low level of productive forces and culture—inherited from tsarist Russia, the predominance of small-scale agricultural production, the devastating effects of the World War, civil war, and foreign intervention—such were the conditions in which the Soviet country began its restoration of the national economy and the building of a new society.

V. I. LENIN

FROM *THE TAX IN KIND*

(The Significance of the New Policy and Its Conditions)

...The political situation in the spring of 1921 was such that immediate, very resolute and urgent measures had to be taken to improve the condition of the peasants and to increase their productive forces.

Why the peasants and not the workers?

Because you need grain and fuel to improve the condition of the workers. This is the biggest "hitch" at the present time, from the standpoint of the economy as a whole. For it is impossible to increase the production and collection of grain and the storage and delivery of fuel except by improving the condition of the peasantry, and raising their productive forces. We must start with the peasantry. Those who fail to understand this, and think that putting the peasantry in the forefront is "renunciation" of the dictatorship of the proletariat, or something like that, simply do not stop to think, and allow themselves to be swayed by the power of words. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the direction of policy by the proletariat. The proletariat, as the leading and ruling class, must be able

to direct policy in such a way as to solve first the most urgent and "vexed" problem. The most urgent thing at the present time is to take measures that will immediately increase the productive forces of peasant farming. Only *in this way* will it be possible to improve the condition of the workers, strengthen the alliance between the workers and peasants, and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletarian or representative of the proletariat who *refused* to improve the condition of the workers *in this way* would *in fact* prove himself to be an accomplice of the Whiteguards and the capitalists; to refuse to do it in this way means putting the craft interests of the workers above their class interests, and sacrificing the interests of the whole of the working class, its dictatorship, its alliance with the peasantry against the landowners and capitalists, and its leading role in the struggle for the emancipation of labour from the yoke of capital, for the sake of an immediate, short-term and partial advantage for the workers.

Thus, the first thing we need is immediate and serious measures to raise the productive forces of the peasantry.

This cannot be done without making important changes in our food policy. One such change was the replacement of the surplus appropriation system by the tax in kind, which implies a free market, at least in local economic exchange, after the tax has been paid.

What is the essence of this change?

The tax in kind is one of the forms of transition from that peculiar War Communism, which was forced on us by extreme want, ruin and war, to regular socialist exchange of products. The latter, in its turn, is one of the forms of transition from socialism, with the peculiar features due to the predominantly small-peasant population, to communism.

Under this peculiar War Communism we actually took from the peasant all his surpluses—and sometimes even a part of his necessaries—to meet the requirements of the army and sustain the workers. Most of it we took on loan, for paper money. But for that, we would not have beaten the landowners and capitalists in a ruined small-peasant country. The fact that we did (in spite of the help our exploiters got from the most powerful countries of the world) shows not only the miracles of heroism the workers and peasants can perform in the struggle for their emancipation; it also shows that when the Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries and Kautsky and Co. *blamed* us for this War Communism they were acting as lackeys of the bourgeoisie. We deserve credit for it.

Just how much credit is a fact of equal importance. It was the war and the ruin that forced us into War Communism. It was not, and could not be, a policy that corresponded to the economic tasks of the proletariat. It was a makeshift. The correct policy of the proletariat exercising its dictatorship in a small-peasant country is to obtain grain in exchange for the manufactured goods the peasant needs. That is the only kind of food policy that corresponds to the tasks of the proletariat, and can strengthen the foundations of socialism and lead to its complete victory.

The tax in kind is a transition to this policy. We are still so ruined and crushed by the burden of war (which was on but yesterday and could break out anew tomorrow, owing to the rapacity and malice of the capitalists) that we cannot give the peasant manufactured goods in return for *all* the grain we need. Being aware of this, we are introducing the tax in kind, that is, we shall take the minimum of grain we require (for the army and the workers) in the form of a tax and obtain the rest in exchange for manufactured goods.

There is something else we must not forget. Our poverty and ruin are so great that we cannot restore large-scale socialist state industry *at one stroke*. This can be done with large stocks of grain and fuel in the big industrial centres, replacement of worn-out machinery, and so on. Experience has convinced us that this cannot be done at one stroke, and we know that after the ruinous imperialist war even the wealthiest and most advanced countries will be able to solve this problem only over a fairly long period of years. Hence, it is necessary, to a certain extent, to help to restore *small* industry, which does not demand of the state machines, large stocks of raw material, fuel and food, and which can immediately render some assistance to peasant farming and increase its productive forces right away.

What is to be the effect of all this?

It is the revival of the petty bourgeoisie and of capitalism on the basis of some freedom of trade (if only local). That much is certain and it is ridiculous to shut our eyes to it.

Is it necessary? Can it be justified? Is it not dangerous?

Many such questions are being asked, and most are merely evidence of simple-mindedness, to put it mildly.

Look at my May 1918 definition of the elements (constituent parts) of the various socio-economic structures in our economy. No one can deny the existence of all these five stages (or constituent parts), or the five forms of economy—

from the patriarchal, i.e., semi-barbarian, to the socialist system. That the small-peasant "structure", partly patriarchal, partly petty bourgeois, predominates in a small-peasant country is self-evident. It is an incontrovertible truth, elementary to political economy, which even the layman's everyday experience will confirm, that once you have exchange the small economy is bound to develop the petty-bourgeois capitalist way.

What is the policy the socialist proletariat can pursue in the face of this economic reality? Is it to give the small peasant *all* he needs of the goods produced by large-scale socialist industries in exchange for his grain and raw materials? This would be the most desirable and "correct" policy—and we have started on it. But we cannot supply *all* the goods, very far from it; nor shall we be able to do so very soon—at all events not until we complete the first stage of the electrification of the whole country. What is to be done? One way is to try to prohibit entirely, to put the lock on all development of private, non-state exchange, i.e., trade, i.e., capitalism, which is inevitable with millions of small producers. But such a policy would be foolish and suicidal for the party that tried to apply it. It would be foolish because it is economically impossible. It would be suicidal because the party that tried to apply it would meet with inevitable disaster. Let us admit it: some Communists have sinned "in thought, word and deed" by adopting just *such* a policy. We shall try to rectify these mistakes, and this must be done without fail, otherwise things will come to a very sorry state.

The alternative (and this is the only sensible and the last *possible* policy) is not to try to prohibit or put the lock on the development of capitalism, but to channel it into *state capitalism.* This is economically possible, for state capitalism exists—in varying form and degree—wherever there are elements of unrestricted trade and capitalism in general.

Can the Soviet state and the dictatorship of the proletariat be combined with state capitalism? Are they compatible?

Of course they are.

The whole problem—in theoretical and practical terms—is to find the correct methods of directing the development of capitalism (which is to some extent and for some time inevitable) into the channels of state capitalism, and to determine how we are to hedge it about with conditions to ensure its transformation into socialism in the near future.

In order to approach the solution of this problem we must

first of all picture to ourselves as distinctly as possible what state capitalism will and can be in practice inside the Soviet system and within the framework of the Soviet state.

Concessions are the simplest example of how the Soviet government directs the development of capitalism into the channels of state capitalism and "implants" state capitalism. We all agree now that concessions are necessary, but have we all thought about the implications? What are concessions under the Soviet system, viewed in the light of the above-mentioned forms of economy and their inter-relations? They are an agreement, an alliance, a bloc between the Soviet, i.e., proletarian, state power and state capitalism against the small-proprietor (patriarchal and petty-bourgeois) element. The concessionaire is a capitalist. He conducts his business on capitalist lines, for profit, and is willing to enter into an agreement with the proletarian government in order to obtain superprofits or raw materials which he cannot otherwise obtain, or can obtain only with great difficulty. Soviet power gains by the development of the productive forces, and by securing an increased quantity of goods immediately, or within a very short period. We have, say, a hundred oilfields, mines and forest tracts. We cannot develop all of them for we lack the machines, the food and the transport. This is also why we are doing next to nothing to develop the other territories. Owing to the insufficient development of the large enterprises the small-proprietor element is more pronounced in all its forms, and this is reflected in the deterioration of the surrounding (and later the whole of) peasant farming, the disruption of its productive forces, the decline in its confidence in the Soviet power, pilfering and widespread petty (the most dangerous) profiteering, etc. By "implanting" state capitalism in the form of concessions, the Soviet government strengthens large-scale production as against petty production, advanced production as against backward production, and machine production as against hand production. It also obtains a larger quantity of the products of large-scale industry (its share of the output), and strengthens state-regulated economic relations as against the anarchy of petty-bourgeois relations. The moderate and cautious application of the concessions policy will undoubtedly help us quickly to improve (to a modest extent) the state of industry and the condition of the workers and peasants. We shall, of course, have all this at the price of certain sacrifices and the surrender to the capitalist of many millions of poods of very valuable products.

The scale and the conditions under which concessions cease to be a danger and are turned to our advantage depend on the relation of forces and are decided in the struggle, for concessions are also a form of struggle, and are a continuation of the class struggle in another form, and in no circumstances are they a substitution of class peace for class war. Practice will determine the methods of struggle.

Compared with other forms of state capitalism within the Soviet system, concessions are perhaps the most simple and clear-cut form of state capitalism. It involves a formal written agreement with the most civilised, advanced, West-European capitalism. We know exactly what our gains and our losses, our rights and obligations are. We know exactly the term for which the concession is granted. We know the terms of redemption before the expiry of the agreement if it provides for such redemption. We pay a certain "tribute" to world capitalism; we "ransom" ourselves under certain arrangements, thereby immediately stabilising the Soviet power and improving our economic conditions. The whole difficulty with concessions is giving the proper consideration and appraisal of all the circumstances when concluding a concession agreement, and then seeing that it is fulfilled. Difficulties there certainly are, and mistakes will probably be inevitable at the outset. But these are minor difficulties compared with the other problems of the social revolution and, in particular, with the difficulties arising from other forms of developing, permitting and implanting state capitalism.

The most important task that confronts all Party and Soviet workers in connection with the introduction of the tax in kind is to apply the principles of the "concessions" policy (i.e., a policy that is similar to "concession" state capitalism) to the other forms of capitalism—unrestricted trade, local exchange, etc.

Take the co-operatives. It is not surprising that the tax in kind decree immediately necessitated a revision of the regulations governing the co-operatives and a certain extension of their "freedom" and rights. The co-operatives are also a form of state capitalism, but a less simple one; its outline is less distinct, it is more intricate and therefore creates greater practical difficulties for the government. The small commodity producers' co-operatives (and it is these, and not the workers' co-operatives, that we are discussing as the predominant and typical form in a small-peasant country) inevitably give rise to petty-bourgeois, capitalist relations,

facilitate their development, push the small capitalists into the foreground and benefit them most. It cannot be otherwise, since the small proprietors predominate, and exchange is necessary and possible. In Russia's present conditions, freedom and rights for the co-operative societies mean freedom and rights for capitalism. It would be stupid or criminal to close our eyes to this obvious truth.

But, unlike private capitalism, "co-operative" capitalism under the Soviet system is a variety of state capitalism, and as such it is advantageous and useful for us at the present time—in certain measure, of course. Since the tax in kind means the free sale of surplus grain (over and above that taken in the form of the tax), we must exert every effort to direct *this* development of capitalism—for a free market *is* development of capitalism—into the channels of cooperative capitalism. It resembles state capitalism in that it facilitates accounting, control, supervision and the establishment of contractual relations between the state (in this case the Soviet state) and the capitalist. Co-operative trade is more advantageous and useful than private trade not only for the above-mentioned reasons, but also because it facilitates the association and organisation of millions of people, and eventually of the entire population, and this in its turn is an enormous gain from the standpoint of the subsequent transition from state capitalism to socialism.

Let us make a comparison of concessions and co-operatives as forms of state capitalism. Concessions are based on large-scale machine industry; co-operatives are based on small, handicraft, and partly even on patriarchal industry. Each concession agreement affects one capitalist, firm, syndicate, cartel or trust. Co-operative societies embrace many thousands and even millions of small proprietors. Concessions allow and even imply a definite agreement for a specified period. Co-operative societies allow of neither. It is much easier to repeal the law on the co-operatives than to annul a concession agreement, but the annulment of an agreement means a sudden rupture of the practical relations of economic alliance, or economic coexistence, with the capitalist, whereas the repeal of the law on the co-operatives, or any law, for that matter, does not immediately break off the practical coexistence of Soviet power and the small capitalists, nor, in general, is it able to break off the actual economic relations. It is easy to "keep an eye" on a concessionaire but not on the co-operators. The transition from concessions to socialism is a

transition from one form of large-scale production to another. The transition from small-proprietor co-operatives to socialism is a transition from small to large-scale production, i.e., it is more complicated, but, if successful, is capable of embracing wider masses of the population, and pulling up the deeper and more tenacious roots of the old, pre-socialist and even pre-capitalist relations, which most stubbornly resist all "innovations". The concessions policy, if successful, will give us a few model—compared with our own—large enterprises built on the level of modern advanced capitalism. After a few decades these enterprises will revert to us in their entirety. The co-operative policy, if successful, will result in raising the small economy and in facilitating its transition, within an indefinite period, to large-scale production on the basis of voluntary association.

Take a third form of state capitalism. The state enlists the capitalist as a merchant and pays him a definite commission on the sale of state goods and on the purchase of the produce of the small producer. A fourth form: the state leases to the capitalist entrepreneur an industrial establishment, oilfields, forest tracts, land, etc., which belong to the state, the lease being very similar to a concession agreement. We make no mention of, we give no thought or notice to, these two latter forms of state capitalism, not because we are strong and clever, but because we are weak and foolish.... We keep repeating that "we" are passing from capitalism to socialism, but do not bother to obtain a distinct picture of the "we". To keep this picture clear we must constantly have in mind the whole list—without any exception—of the constituent parts of our national economy, of all its diverse forms that I gave in my article of May 5, 1918. "We", the vanguard, the advanced contingent of the proletariat, are passing directly to socialism; but the advanced contingent is only a small part of the whole of the proletariat while the latter, in its turn, is only a small part of the whole population. If "we" are successfully to solve the problem of our immediate transition to socialism, we must understand what *intermediary* paths, methods, means and instruments are required for the transition from *precapitalist* relations to socialism. That is the whole point....

Is an immediate transition to socialism from the state of affairs predominating in Russia conceivable? Yes, it is, to a certain degree, but on one condition, the precise nature of which we now know thanks to a great piece of scientific

work* that has been completed. It is electrification. If we construct scores of district electric power stations (we now know where and how these can and should be constructed), and transmit electric power to every village, if we obtain a sufficient number of electric motors and other machinery, we shall not need, or shall hardly need, any transition stages or intermediary links between patriarchalism and socialism. But we know perfectly well that it will take at least ten years only to complete the first stage of this "one" condition; this period can be conceivably reduced only if the proletarian revolution is victorious in such countries as Britain, Germany or the U.S.A.

Over the next few years we must learn to think of the intermediary links that can facilitate the transition from patriarchalism and small production to socialism. "We" continue saying now and again that "capitalism is a bane and socialism is a boon". But such an argument is wrong, because it fails to take into account the aggregate of the existing economic forms and singles out only two of them.

Capitalism is a bane compared with socialism. Capitalism is a boon compared with medievalism, small production, and the evils of bureaucracy which spring from the dispersal of the small producers. Inasmuch as we are as yet unable to pass directly from small production to socialism, some capitalism is inevitable as the elemental product of small production and exchange; so that we must utilise capitalism (particularly by directing it into the channels of state capitalism) as the intermediary link between small production and socialism, as a means, a path, and a method of increasing the productive forces...

April 21, 1921

*Reference is to the plan for the electrification of the RSFSR, which was elaborated by the State Commission for the Electrification of Russia (GOELRO).—*Ed.*

DECREE OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON REPLACEMENT OF THE FOOD AND RAW MATERIAL REQUISITIONING WITH A TAX IN KIND

March 21, 1921

1. To ensure the correct and smooth management of the economy on the basis of greater freedom for the land-tiller to dispose of the product of his labour and his assets, to strengthen the peasant economy and raise its productive capacity, as well as for the purposes of establishing the exact amount of state-imposed duties, the requisitioning as a method of government procurement of food, raw materials, and fodder is replaced with a tax in kind.

2. This tax shall be less than the dues imposed heretofore through the requisitioning. The amount of the tax shall be calculated so as to meet the most imperative needs of the army, urban workers, and non-agricultural population. The aggregate amount of the tax must be constantly decreased as the rehabilitation of transport and industry makes it possible for Soviet power to obtain agricultural products in exchange for industrial and hand-made goods.

3. The tax is levied as a percentage or portion of the products produced in a farm holding, calculated according to crop yield, number of dependants, and the presence or absence of cattle.

4. The tax shall be progressive; the percentage for middle, poor, and urban holdings must be lower.

The poorest peasants shall be freed from some, and in extreme cases from all, forms of taxation in kind.

Industrious peasants, increasing the amount of land under cultivation or increasing the productivity of their farm as a whole, shall gain easy terms on fulfilment of the tax in kind.

5. The tax law shall be compiled in such a way and published at such a date that will inform the peasants prior to the start of spring seasonal work, as fully as possible as to the amount of duty to be levied on them...

8. The entire after-tax stock of foodstuffs, raw materials, and fodder left at the peasants' total disposal may be used for improvements on his holdings, a rise in personal consumption, and exchange for industrial and hand-made goods or agricultural products.

The exchange is allowed within the boundaries of the local economic turnover, through cooperative organisations as well as in the market.

9. Those peasants who wish to hand over to the state the after-tax surpluses shall, in exchange for the voluntarily submitted surpluses, be accorded consumer goods and farm tools. For this, a permanent government stock of farm tools and consumer goods is created, made up both of home products and imported ones. A portion of the national gold reserves and a portion of reserve raw materials are allocated for this.

10. Poorest peasants are allocated provisions by the state according to special regulations.

Throughout 1921-25, the management of industry was reorganised. The strict centralism of the civil war period was abolished, the authority of local administrative bodies was increased, enterprises were amalgamated in trusts, profit and losses accounting was introduced. In February 1921, the State Planning Commission (Gosplan) was set up. "The transformation of the whole of the state economic mechanism into a single huge machine, into an economic organism that will work in such a way as to enable hundreds of millions of people to be guided by a single plan—such was the enormous organisational problem that rested on our shoulders," wrote Lenin.

On Lenin's initiative, the State Commission for the Electrification of Russia was created. Under Lenin's direct guidance that commission (Russian acronym GOELRO) developed the famous GOELRO Plan, which provided for the creation of a powerful energy base. Plans were outlined for the building of 30 electric-power stations. The GOELRO Plan was adopted at the Eighth Congress of Soviets in December 1920. It was the first scientifically founded, long-term plan for the development of the national economy. The emphasis fell on the use of electricity in developing heavy industry.

The final programme for the electrification of the country, designed for a 10 to 15-year period, was defined by the 21 December 1921 decree of the Council of People's Commissars. The Ninth All-Russia Congress of Soviets, which met the same month, approved the decree, thus making the GOELRO Plan a state law.

In his article *Integrated Economic Plan*, Lenin described the enormous significance of the GOELRO Plan and insisted that it be widely and carefully studied.

V. I. LENIN

FROM *INTEGRATED ECONOMIC PLAN*

...The only serious work on the subject is the *Plan for the Electrification of the R.S.F.S.R.*, the report of GOELRO (the State Commission for the Electrification of Russia) to the Eighth Congress of Soviets, published in December 1920 and

distributed at the Congress. It outlines an integrated economic plan which has been worked out—only as a rough approximation, of course—by the best brains in the Republic on the instructions of its highest bodies....

More than a year ago—February 2-7, 1920—the All-Russia Central Executive Committee met in session and adopted a resolution on electrification which says:

> "Along with the most immediate, vital and urgent tasks in organising transport, coping with the fuel and food crises, fighting epidemics, and forming disciplined labour armies, Soviet Russia now has, for the first time, an opportunity of starting on more balanced economic development, and working out a nation-wide state economic plan on scientific lines and consistently implementing it. In view of the prime importance of electrification ... mindful of the importance of electrification for industry, agriculture and transport, ... and so on and so forth..., the Committee resolves: to authorise the Supreme Economic Council to work out, in conjunction with the People's Commissariat for Agriculture, a project for the construction of a system of electric power stations..."

This seems to be clear enough, doesn't it? "A nation-wide state economic plan on scientific lines": is it possible to misread these words in the decision adopted by our highest authority?

In pursuance of the All-Russia C.E.C. resolution, the Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council, on February 21, 1920, confirmed the Electrification Commission set up under the Electricity Department, after which the Council of Defence endorsed the statute on GOELRO, whose composition the Supreme Economic Council was instructed to determine and confirm by agreement with the People's Commissariat for Agriculture. The best talent available has been recruited.

The GOELRO effort has produced this voluminous—and first-class—scientific publication. Over 180 specialists worked on it.

The plan ranges over about ten years and gives an indication of the number of workers and capacities (in 1,000 hp). Of course, it is only a rough draft, with possible errors, and a "rough approximation", but it is a real scientific plan. We have precise calculations by experts for every major item, and every industry.

It gives the site of the first 20 steam and 10 water power district electric stations, and a detailed description of the economic importance of each.

The general summary is followed, in the same volume, by a list of works for each area (with a separate paging):

Northern, Central Industrial (both of which are especially well set out in precise detail based on a wealth of scientific data), Southern, Volga, Urals, Caucasian (the Caucasus is taken as a whole in anticipation of an economic agreement between its various republics), Western Siberia and Turkestan. For each of the areas, electric power capacities are projected beyond the first units; this is followed by the GOELRO Programme, that is, the plan for the use of *existing* electric power stations on the most rational and economic lines...

Let me add that we have an embryonic calendar programme for a number of other items (though not for all, of course). This is more than a general plan: it is an estimate for each year, from 1921 to 1930, of the number of stations that can be run in, and the proportions to which the existing ones can be enlarged...

With us over here it was a state assignment, mobilising hundreds of specialists and producing an integrated economic plan on scientific lines within 10 months (and not two, of course, as we had originally planned). We have every right to be proud of this work, and it remains for us to *understand how* it should be used. What we now have to contend with is failure to understand *this fact.*

The resolution of the Eighth Congress of Soviets says: "The Congress ... *approves the work of the Supreme Economic Council*, etc., especially that of GOELRO *in drawing up the plan for the electrification of Russia* ... regards this plan *as the first step in a great economic endeavour*, authorises the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, etc., *to put the finishing touches to the plan and to endorse it*, at the very earliest date... It authorises the adoption of all measures for *the most extensive popularisation* of this plan. ... A study of this plan must be an item in the curricula of *all educational establishments of the Republic, without exception*", etc.

Along with electrification, the Soviet government paid considerable attention to the restoration of the metal industry, agricultural machine-building, electrical engineering, and the textile industry. "Only when the country has been electrified, and industry, agriculture and transport have been placed on the technical basis of modern large-scale industry, only then shall we be fully victorious," wrote Lenin.

During the restoration period small-scale individual holdings prevailed in the countryside. But even at that time the countryside saw the appearance of cooperative-type farming praised and backed by the Soviet government.

FROM THE RESOLUTION OF THE NINTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS ON AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION

December 28, 1921

Having heard the report on agricultural cooperation, the Ninth Congress of the Soviets of Workers', Peasants', and Red Armymen's Deputies decrees to state that:

1. The basic productive agricultural unit—the small-scale peasant holding—is too weak to find within itself the strength needed for rehabilitation and further development. It may be helped by: (1) government regulation and (2) concentration of forces in the form of comprehensive mutual aid and development of economic initiative, on the basis of economic incentive.

2. The present moment dictates that the second course is more feasible and can produce the needed results in a shorter period of time. The organisational forms of concentration of forces of small agricultural units lie historically in cooperation. In its conduct of the New Economic Policy, the Soviet government makes the creation and development of agricultural cooperation a basic feature of its policy.

3. Deeming it necessary to set up broad and free opportunities for developing and sustaining all forms of agricultural cooperatives, the Congress considers it necessary to give special support to such cooperative associations that have based their activities on implementation of production objectives, major land-improvement schemes, and intense agricultural activity, giving them, also, broad opportunities for procurement and sales of the means and products of agricultural production. Credit cooperatives also require greatest attention, inasmuch as introduction of production crediting in the countryside will create possibilities for correct operation of agricultural production cooperation. Having ascertained the inadequate effort shown in the countryside to develop agricultural cooperation, the Congress suggests that local authorities adopt vigorous measures to achieve this.

4. Agrarian communes and artels (kolkhozes), as socially fully-formed cells of working people, must be drawn into cooperative development. The involvement of kolkhozes in the mainstream of the agricultural cooperative movement must be conducted very carefully, without destroying their positive revolutionary content. It must be conducted not through the anarchic adoption of general cooperative rules

by individual kolkhozes, but by organised involvement of that type of agricultural cooperation in the joint cooperative union. Furthermore, the kolkhozes are given the right to organise their own independent provincial associations. When communes and artels are converted into cooperative societies, each case should be treated independently so that the form of cooperation chosen for the given kolkhoz suits more than any other form the character of its productive activity and the conditions of the region in question. Land authorities are given the right to great direct financial aid to kolkhozes which have entered the cooperative network outside of the union societies, for the purpose of imparting to those kolkhozes the character of an agricultural centre.

THE FORMATION OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

At the close of 1922, the Seventh All-Ukraine, First Transcaucasian, Fourth All-Byelorussia, and Tenth All-Russia congresses of Soviets spoke for unification of the Soviet Republics into a single union state. This was dictated by the objective necessity of their joint defence against the threat of attack by imperialist powers, and by the need to pool, not only military, but also economic and political resources of those republics in the interests of a speedy elimination of economic dislocation and the building of socialism. To reach a final solution of this question, the First All-Union Congress of Soviets met on 30 December 1922. The Congress approved the *Declaration and Treaty on the Formation of the USSR* and reached a decision to submit them for further consideration by the Central Executive Committees of the Union republics. The final forms of both documents were submitted by the Central Executive Committee of the Union of SSR to the Second All-Union Congress of Soviets of the USSR. On 31 January 1924, the Second Congress of Soviets approved the Constitution of the USSR.

For the first time in history, a multinational socialist state was created founded on the principles of full equality and voluntariness, trust and mutual aid, brotherhood and friendship of peoples, and on the retention of national sovereignty by all the republics that had entered into the USSR.

The major contribution to the development of the principles underlying the unification of Soviet republics and to the solution of the questions pertaining to the ways and methods of its practical implementation was made by Lenin.

FROM THE DECLARATION ON THE FORMATION OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

The will of the peoples of the Soviet Republics, who recently convened the congresses of their Soviets and unanimously adopted a decision on the formation of the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics", is a reliable guarantee that this Union is a voluntary association of equal peoples, that each

Republic is ensured the right to free secession from the Union, that access to the Union is open to all socialist Soviet Republics, both the existing ones and those that will appear in the future; that the new federal state is a fitting culmination of the peaceful cohabitation and fraternal cooperation of the peoples, the foundation for which was laid in October 1917; that it will serve as a reliable bulwark against world capitalism and a new decisive step on the way to uniting the working people of all countries...

FROM THE TREATY ON THE FORMATION OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

The Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (RSFSR), the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (UkSSR), the Byelorussian Socialist Soviet Republic (BSSR) and the Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (TSFSR: the Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaijan, the Soviet Socialist Republic of Georgia and the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia) shall unite into a single federal state—the *Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.*

FROM THE CONSTITUTION (FUNDAMENTAL LAW) OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Chapter One

On the Jurisdiction of the Higher Bodies of Power of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

1. The jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as represented by its higher bodies, shall extend to:

...(b) approval of changes in the boundaries of the Union, and regulation of changes to boundaries between the Union Republics;

(c) conclusion of agreements on admission of new Republics into the Union;

...(i) administration of transport and communications;

(j) organisation and direction of the armed forces of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

2. Endorsement and amendment of the basic principles of this Constitution shall be the exclusive prerogative of the Congress of Soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Chapter Two

On the Sovereign Rights of the Union Republics and on Federal Citizenship

3. The sovereignty of the Union Republics shall be restricted only within the limits set by this Constitution, and only on matters that lie within Union jurisdiction. Beyond these limits each Union Republic shall exercise its state power independently. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall safeguard the sovereign rights of the Union Republics.

Chapter Four

On the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

13. The Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall consist of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

14. The Congress of Soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall elect the Soviet of the Union from representatives of the Union Republics in proportion to the population of each Republic, consisting of 414 members in all.

15. The Soviet of Nationalities shall be formed of representatives of Union and Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics —five representatives each, and of representatives of the Autonomous Regions of the RSFSR—one representative each.

Beginning in 1924, as a result of the development of the national statehood of the Soviet peoples, definitions and changes were made concerning the territories of socialist nations, and new autonomous republics and areas were created. In 1924, national and territorial demarcation was carried out in Soviet Central Asia. It brought into being two independent republics— the Turkmenian Republic and the Uzbek Republic, which entered the Union of SSR in 1925. By the end of 1925, the USSR consisted of six Union and 15 autonomous socialist republics.

LENIN'S PLAN OF BUILDING SOCIALISM IN SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE BEGINNING OF ITS IMPLEMENTATION

Lenin's health was failing; overwork and the grave effects of wounds inflicted by an SR woman-terrorist in August of 1918 had seriously undermined it.

In 1922 Lenin was seriously ill. In October-November 1922, he recovered somewhat and started working long and arduously. On 20 November he spoke at the plenary session of the Deputies of the Moscow Soviet. Speaking of the results of the country's development in accordance with the New Economic Policy, Lenin said that, although the transformation was difficult,

the difficulties would be overcome, that the Soviet country had already scored definite successes, and that socialism had come to be a part of everyday life. He finished by expressing his firm belief that "NEP Russia will become socialist Russia". That was his last public speech. In December 1922 Lenin suffered from another, still graver, attack of illness.

Throughout December 1922-March 1923, Lenin wrote his last articles: *Pages from a Diary, On Co-operation, Our Revolution, Better Fewer, But Better*, and several other articles and letters. They were his political testament to the Party of Communists and the entire people of the USSR, to the world communist movement. In those works, as in many other works written after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Lenin described the new historical epoch, defined its peculiarities, summarised the experience of the world revolutionary movement, and outlined the perspectives of its development. Central to all these works was the issue of the fate of socialism in the Soviet Union. In his last works, Lenin substantiated the possibility of building socialism in the USSR and outlined the plan for socialist construction.

The following are the chief positions of this plan.

The Soviet country has all necessary and sufficient conditions to build a socialist society. The principal objective of the country is to resurrect and develop industrial production, heavy industry in particular, achieve the electrification of the country, and increase the productivity of labour throughout the entire national economy. It is necessary to industrialise the country, to eliminate its technical and economic backwardness, in order to build socialism's material and technical basis.

The working class must draw the toiling peasants into socialist construction and help them to restructure their isolated individual holdings into a large-scale socialised economy. Cooperation is the best form of involving the peasants in socialist construction. The Soviet government must help the peasants build up a cooperative system in the countryside. It must be built gradually, step by step, so that the peasants themselves will see the advantages of production cooperation and will voluntarily, without coercion, enter upon a course of cooperation. The development of heavy industry (mechanical engineering in particular) will make it possible to supply agriculture with machinery.

To bring about the victory of socialism, it is necessary to achieve a cultural revolution; to inculcate in a Soviet society a socialist culture founded on Marxist ideology. This culture is a logical result of the development of the wealth of knowledge that mankind had accumulated in preceding ages. The objective is as follows: when stamping out illiteracy, educating the rising generation, building up new cadres of intelligentsia, educate Soviet people in the spirit of Marxism, the spirit of communism.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the principal condition for building a socialist society. To develop and sustain it, it is essential to continually foster the alliance between the industrial workers and the peasants, an alliance in which the working class, headed by the Communist Party, plays the leading role. In the hands of the working class, the State is an instrument for building socialism. The state apparatus must be streamlined, purged of bureaucratic and alien elements, and renovated with fresh forces of working people.

The building of socialism is only possible under a firm friendship among all peoples of the Soviet Union. It is necessary to eliminate as soon as possible the current inequality of the backward peoples, to foster the spirit of internationalism and fraternal unity among all peoples, to treat with care and respect the national culture and national sentiment of each people.

The Communist Party and Soviet Government must conduct their

foreign policies so as to prevent military confrontation with bourgeois states. Persistent struggle for peace, for peaceful coexistence and economic competition of socialism and capitalism will continue to be the principal line of the foreign policy of the USSR. Lenin expressed his firm belief in the victory of socialism in this competition. At the same time, he called upon the Soviet people to do everything to strengthen the country's defence and to enhance the fighting capacity of the Red Army and the Navy so that any aggression, should it happen, would meet a crushing repulse.

The Communist Party, which expresses the interests of the working class and all working people and is closely associated with the popular masses, is the guiding force in the building of socialism. The Party guides the State and all working people organisations, directs the progress of the national economy and culture along the lines of socialism, organises the country's defence, works out the principles and methods of Soviet foreign policy, and encourages the working people in the course of socialist construction.

Lenin's plan came to be the principal theoretical and practical weapon in the working people's effort for socialism. It encouraged the masses in both town and countryside to new labour achievements. Many of its positions later served as the guide to action for working people in other countries that have embarked upon socialist construction.

V. I. LENIN

FROM *PAGES FROM A DIARY*

...At a time when we hold forth on proletarian culture and the relation in which it stands to bourgeois culture, facts and figures reveal that we are in a very bad way even as far as bourgeois culture is concerned. As might have been expected, it appears that we are still a very long way from attaining universal literacy, and that even compared with tsarist times (1897) our progress has been far too slow.... It shows what a vast amount of urgent spade-work we still have to do to reach the standard of an ordinary West-European civilised country. It also shows what a vast amount of work we have to do today to achieve, on the basis of our proletarian gains, anything like a real cultural standard.

We must not confine ourselves to this incontrovertible but too theoretical proposition. The very next time we revise our quarterly budget we must take this matter up in a practical way as well. In the first place, of course, we shall have to cut down the expenditure of government departments other than the People's Commissariat of Education, and the sums thus released should be assigned for the latter's needs. In a year like the present, when we are relatively well supplied, we must not be chary in increasing the bread ration for schoolteachers.

Generally speaking, it cannot be said that the work now being done in public education is too narrow. Quite a lot is being done to get the old teachers out of their rut, to attract them to the new problems, to rouse their interest in new methods of education, and in such problems as religion.

But we are not doing the main thing. We are not doing anything—or doing far from enough—to raise the schoolteacher to the level that is absolutely essential if we want any culture at all, proletarian or even bourgeois. We must bear in mind the semi-Asiatic ignorance from which we have not yet extricated ourselves, and from which we cannot extricate ourselves without strenuous effort—although we have every opportunity to do so, because nowhere are the masses of the people so interested in real culture as they are in our country; nowhere are the problems of this culture tackled so thoroughly and consistently as they are in our country; in no other country is state power in the hands of the working class which, in its mass, is fully aware of the deficiencies, I shall not say of its culture, but of its literacy; nowhere is the working class so ready to make, and nowhere is it actually making, such sacrifices to improve its position in this respect as in our country.

Too little, far too little, is still being done by us to adjust our state budget to satisfy, as a first measure, the requirements of elementary public education.

Our schoolteacher should be raised to a standard he has never achieved, and cannot achieve, in bourgeois society. This is a truism and requires no proof. We must strive for this state of affairs by working steadily, methodically and persistently to raise the teacher to a higher cultural level, to train him thoroughly for his really high calling and—mainly, mainly and mainly—to improve his position materially.

We must systematically step up our efforts to organise the schoolteachers so as to transform them from the bulwark of the bourgeois system that they still are in all capitalist countries without exception, into the bulwark of the Soviet system, in order, through their agency, to divert the peasantry from alliance with the bourgeoisie and to bring them into alliance with the proletariat.

I want briefly to emphasise the special importance in this respect of regular visits to the villages; such visits, it is true, are already being practised and should be regularly promoted.

We have a fundamental political question—the relations between town and country—which is of decisive importance

for the whole of our revolution. While the bourgeois state methodically concentrates all its efforts on doping the urban workers, adapting all the literature published at state expense and at the expense of the tsarist and bourgeois parties for this purpose, we can and must utilise our political power to make the urban worker an effective vehicle of communist ideas among the rural proletariat.

I said "communist", but I hasten to make a reservation for fear of causing a misunderstanding, or of being taken too literally. Under no circumstances must this be understood to mean that we should immediately propagate purely and strictly communist ideas in the countryside. As long as our countryside lacks the material basis for communism, it will be, I should say, harmful, in fact, I should say, fatal, for communism to do so...

But it is our duty to establish contacts between the urban workers and the rural working people, to establish between them a form of comradeship which can easily be created. This is one of the fundamental tasks of the working class which holds power. To achieve this we must form a number of associations (Party, trade union and private) of factory workers, which would devote themselves regularly to assisting the villages in their cultural development...

Is it possible to "attach" all the urban groups to all the village groups, so that every working-class group may take advantage regularly of every opportunity, of every occasion to serve the cultural needs of the village group it is "attached" to? Or will it be possible to find other forms of contact? I here confine myself solely to formulating the question in order to draw the comrades' attention to it, to point out the available experience of Western Siberia (to which Comrade Khodorovsky drew my attention) and to present this gigantic, historic cultural task in all its magnitude...

Under capitalism the town introduced political, economic, moral, physical, etc., corruption into the countryside. In our case, towns are automatically beginning to introduce the very opposite of this into the countryside. But, I repeat, all this is going on automatically, spontaneously, and can be improved (and later increased a hundredfold) by doing it consciously, methodically and systematically...

January 2, 1923

V. I. LENIN

FROM *ON CO-OPERATION*

I

It seems to me that not enough attention is being paid to the co-operative movement in our country. Not everyone understands that now, since the time of the October Revolution and quite apart from NEP (on the contrary, in this connection we must say—because of NEP), our co-operative movement has become one of great significance.

...Since political power is in the hands of the working class, since this political power owns all the means of production, the only task, indeed, that remains for us is to organise the population in co-operative societies. With most of the population organised in co-operatives, the socialism which in the past was legitimately treated with ridicule, scorn and contempt by those who were rightly convinced that it was necessary to wage the class struggle, the struggle for political power, etc., will achieve its aim automatically. But not all comrades realise how vastly, how infinitely important it is now to organise the population of Russia in co-operative societies. By adopting NEP we made a concession to the peasant as a trader, to the principle of private trade; it is precisely for this reason (contrary to what some people think) that the co-operative movement is of such immense importance. All we actually need under NEP is to organise the population of Russia in co-operative societies on a sufficiently large scale, for we have now found that degree of combination of private interest, of private commercial interest, with state supervision and control of this interest, that degree of its subordination to the common interests which was formerly the stumbling-block for very many socialists. Indeed the power of the state over all large-scale means of production, political power in the hands of the proletariat, the alliance of this proletariat with the many millions of small and very small peasants, the assured proletarian leadership of the peasantry, etc.—is this not all that is necessary to build a complete socialist society out of co-operatives, out of co-operatives alone, which we formerly ridiculed as huckstering and which from a certain aspect we have the right to treat as such now, under NEP? Is this not all that is necessary to build a complete socialist society? It is still not the building of socialist society, but it is all that is necessary and sufficient for it.

It is this very circumstance that is underestimated by many of our practical workers. They look down upon our co-operative societies, failing to appreciate their exceptional importance, first, from the standpoint of principle (the means of production are owned by the state), and, second, from the standpoint of transition to the new system by means that are the *simplest, easiest and most acceptable to the peasant.*

But this again is of fundamental importance. It is one thing to draw up fantastic plans for building socialism through all sorts of workers' associations, and quite another to learn to build socialism in practice in such a way that every small peasant could take part in it. That is the very stage we have now reached. And there is no doubt that, having reached it, we are taking too little advantage of it.

Co-operation must be politically so organised that it will not only generally and always enjoy certain privileges, but that these privileges should be of a purely material nature (a favourable bank-rate, etc.). The co-operatives must be granted state loans that are greater, if only by a little, than the loans we grant to private enterprises, even to heavy industry, etc.

A social system emerges only if it has the financial backing of a definite class. There is no need to mention the hundreds of millions of rubles that the birth of "free" capitalism cost. At present we have to realise that the co-operative system is the social system we must now give more than ordinary assistance, and we must actually give that assistance. But it must be assistance in the real sense of the word, i.e., it will not be enough to interpret it to mean assistance for any kind of co-operative trade; by assistance we must mean aid to co-operative trade in which *really large masses of the population actually take part.* It is certainly a correct form of assistance to give a bonus to peasants who take part in co--operative trade; but the whole point is to verify the nature of this participation, to verify the awareness behind it, and to verify its quality...

There is another aspect to this question. From the point of view of the "enlightened" (primarily, literate) European there is not much left for us to do to induce absolutely everyone to take not a passive, but an active part in co-operative operations. Strictly speaking, there is "*only*" one thing we have left to do and that is to make our people so "enlightened" that they understand all the advantages of everybody participating in the work of the co-operatives, and organise this

participation. "*Only*" that. There are now no other devices needed to advance to socialism. But to achieve this "only", there must be a veritable revolution—the entire people must go through a period of cultural development. Therefore, our rule must be: as little philosophising and as few acrobatics as possible. In this respect NEP is an advance, because it is adjustable to the level of the most ordinary peasant and does not demand anything higher of him. But it will take a whole historical epoch to get the entire population into the work of the co-operatives through NEP. At best we can achieve this in one or two decades. Nevertheless, it will be a distinct historical epoch, and without this historical epoch, without universal literacy, we shall not achieve our object.

In conclusion: a number of economic, financial and banking privileges must be granted to the co-operatives—this is the way our socialist state must promote the new principle on which the population must be organised. But this is only the general outline of the task; it does not define and depict in detail the entire content of the practical task, i.e., we must find what form of "bonus" to give for joining the co-operatives (and the terms on which we should give it), the form of bonus by which we shall assist the co-operatives sufficiently, the form of bonus that will produce the civilised co-operator. And given social ownership of the means of production, given the class victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, the system of civilised co-operators is the system of socialism.

January 4, 1923

II

In the capitalist state, co-operatives are no doubt collective capitalist institutions. Nor is there any doubt that under our present economic conditions, when we combine private capitalist enterprises—but in no other way than on nationalised land and in no other way than under the control of the working-class state—with enterprises of a consistently socialist type (the means of production, the land on which the enterprises are situated, and the enterprises as a whole belonging to the state), the question arises about a third type of enterprise, the co-operatives, which were not formerly regarded as an independent type differing fundamentally from the others. Under private capitalism, co-operative enterprises differ from capitalist enterprises as collective enterprises differ from

private enterprises. Under state capitalism, co-operative enterprises differ from state capitalist enterprises, firstly, because they are private enterprises, and, secondly, because they are collective enterprises. Under our present system, co-operative enterprises differ from private capitalist enterprises because they are collective enterprises, but do not differ from socialist enterprises if the land on which they are situated and the means of production belong to the state, i.e., the working class.

This circumstance is not considered sufficiently when co-operatives are discussed. It is forgotten that owing to the special features of our political system, our co-operatives acquire an altogether exceptional significance. If we exclude concessions, which, incidentally, have not developed on any considerable scale, co-operation under our conditions nearly always coincides fully with socialism.

...Socialism cannot be established without a class struggle for political power in the state.

But ... see how things have changed now that political power is in the hands of the working class, now that the political power of the exploiters is overthrown and all the means of production (except those which the workers' state voluntarily abandons on specified terms and for a certain time to the exploiters in the form of concessions) are owned by the working class.

Now we are entitled to say that for us the mere growth of co-operation (with the "slight" exception mentioned above) is identical with the growth of socialism, and at the same time we have to admit that there has been a radical modification in our whole outlook on socialism. The radical modification is this: formerly we placed, and had to place, the main emphasis on the political struggle, on revolution, on winning political power, etc. Now the emphasis is changing and shifting to peaceful, organisational, "cultural" work. I should say that emphasis is shifting to educational work, were it not for our international relations, were it not for the fact that we have to fight for our position on a world scale. If we leave that aside, however, and confine ourselves to internal economic relations, the emphasis in our work is certainly shifting to education.

Our opponents told us repeatedly that we were rash in undertaking to implant socialism in an insufficiently cultured country. But they were misled by our having started from the opposite end to that prescribed by theory (the theory of pedants of all kinds), because in our country the political

and social revolution preceded the cultural revolution, that very cultural revolution which nevertheless now confronts us.

This cultural revolution would now suffice, to make our country a completely socialist country; but it presents immense difficulties of a purely cultural (for we are illiterate) and material character (for to be cultured we must achieve a certain development of the material means of production, must have a certain material base).

January 6, 1923

V. I. LENIN

FROM *OUR REVOLUTION*

(Apropos of N. Sukhanov's notes)

I

I have lately been glancing through Sukhanov's notes on the revolution. What strikes one most is the pedantry of all our petty-bourgeois democrats and of all the heroes of the Second International,... their slavish imitation of the past.

They all call themselves Marxists, but their conception of Marxism is impossibly pedantic. They have completely failed to understand what is decisive in Marxism, namely, its revolutionary dialectics...

Their conduct betrays them as cowardly reformists who are afraid to deviate from the bourgeoisie, let alone break with it, and at the same time they disguise their cowardice with the wildest rhetoric and braggartry. But what strikes one in all of them even from the purely theoretical point of view is their utter inability to grasp the following Marxist considerations: up to now they have seen capitalism and bourgeois democracy in Western Europe follow a definite path of development, and cannot conceive that this path can be taken as a model only *mutatis mutandis*, only with certain amendments (quite insignificant from the standpoint of the general development of world history).

First—the revolution connected with the first imperialist world war. Such a revolution was bound to reveal new features, or variations, resulting from the war itself, for the world has never seen such a war in such a situation.

Secondly, they are complete strangers to the idea that while the development of world history as a whole follows general laws it is by no means precluded, but, on the contrary,

presumed, that certain periods of development may display peculiarities in either the form or the sequence of this development. For instance, it does not even occur to them that because Russia stands on the border-line between the civilised countries and the countries which this war has for the first time definitely brought into the orbit of civilisation—all the Oriental, non--European countries—she could and was, indeed, bound to reveal certain distinguishing features; although these, of course, are in keeping with the general line of world development, they distinguish her revolution from those which took place in the West-European countries and introduce certain partial innovations as the revolution moves on to the countries of the East.

Infinitely stereotyped, for instance, is the argument they learned by rote during the development of West-European Social-Democracy, namely, that we are not yet ripe for socialism, that, as certain "learned" gentlemen among them put it, the objective economic premises for socialism do not exist in our country. It does not occur to any of them to ask: but what about a people that found itself in a revolutionary situation such as that created during the first imperialist war? Might it not, influenced by the hopelessness of its situation, fling itself into a struggle that would offer it at least some chance of securing conditions for the further development of civilisation that were somewhat unusual?

"The development of the productive forces of Russia has not attained the level that makes socialism possible." They keep harping on this incontrovertible proposition in a thousand different keys, and think that it is the decisive criterion of our revolution.

But what if the situation, which drew Russia into the imperialist world war that involved every more or less influential West-European country and made her a witness of the eve of the revolutions maturing or partly already begun in the East, gave rise to circumstances that put Russia and her development in a position which enabled us to achieve precisely that combination of a "peasant war" with the working-class movement suggested in 1856 by no less a Marxist than Marx himself as a possible prospect for Prussia?

What if the complete hopelessness of the situation, by stimulating the efforts of the workers and peasants tenfold, offered us the opportunity to create the fundamental requisites of civilisation in a different way from that of the West-European countries? Has that altered the general line of devel-

opment of world history? Has that altered the basic relations between the basic classes of all the countries that are being, or have been, drawn into the general course of world history?

If a definite level of culture is required for the building of socialism (although nobody can say just what that definite "level of culture" is, for it differs in every West-European country), why cannot we begin by first achieving the prerequisites for that definite level of culture in a revolutionary way, and *then*, with the aid of the workers' and peasants' government and the Soviet system, proceed to overtake the other nations?

January 16, 1923

V.I. LENIN

FROM *BETTER FEWER, BUT BETTER*

...The general feature of our present life is the following: we have destroyed capitalist industry and have done our best to raze to the ground the medieval institutions and landed proprietorship, and thus created a small and very small peasantry, which is following the lead of the proletariat because it believes in the results of its revolutionary work. It is not easy for us, however, to keep going until the socialist revolution is victorious in more developed countries merely with the aid of this confidence, because economic necessity, especially under NEP, keeps the productivity of labour of the small and very small peasants at an extremely low level. Moreover, the international situation, too, threw Russia back and, by and large, reduced the labour productivity of the people to a level considerably below pre-war. The West-European capitalist powers, partly deliberately and partly unconsciously, did everything they could to throw us back, to utilise the elements of the Civil War in Russia in order to spread as much ruin in the country as possible. It was precisely this way out of the imperialist war that seemed to have many advantages. They argued somewhat as follows: "If we fail to overthrow the revolutionary system in Russia, we shall, at all events, hinder its progress towards socialism." And from their point of view they could argue in no other way. In the end, their problem was half-solved. They failed to overthrow the new system created by the revolution, but they did prevent it from at once taking the step forward that would have justified the forecasts of the socialists, that would have enabled the

latter to develop the productive forces with enormous speed, to develop all the potentialities which, taken together, would have produced socialism, socialists would thus have proved to all and sundry that socialism contains within itself gigantic forces and that mankind had now entered into a new stage of development of extraordinarily brilliant prospects.

What tactics does this situation prescribe for our country? Obviously the following. We must display extreme caution so as to preserve our workers' government and to retain our small and very small peasantry under its leadership and authority...

Can we save ourselves from the impending conflict with these imperialist countries?...

But what interests us is the tactics which we, the Russian Communist Party, we, the Russian Soviet Government, should pursue to prevent the West-European counter-revolutionary states from crushing us. To ensure our existence ... we should adopt the following tactics, or pursue the following policy, to save ourselves.

We must strive to build up a state in which the workers retain the leadership of the peasants, in which they retain the confidence of the peasants, and by exercising the greatest economy remove every trace of extravagance from our social relations.

We must reduce our state apparatus to the utmost degree of economy. We must banish from it all traces of extravagance, of which so much has been left over from tsarist Russia, from its bureaucratic capitalist state machine.

Will not this be a reign of peasant limitations?

No. If we see to it that the working class retains its leadership over the peasantry, we shall be able, by exercising the greatest possible thrift in the economic life of our state, to use every saving we make to develop our large-scale machine industry, to develop electrification, the hydraulic extraction of peat, to complete the Volkhov Power Project, etc.

March 2, 1923

THE DEATH OF LENIN. LENIN ENROLMENT INTO THE PARTY

On 21 January 1924, the Communist Party of the USSR, the Soviet people, all progressive mankind were struck by a most profound grief—Vladimir Ilyich Lenin had died.

For almost a week the people paid their last tribute to Lenin, their leader

and teacher. During the days of national mourning, on 26 January, the Second Congress of Soviets opened its sessions. The first session was devoted to the memory of Lenin. The Congress adopted the appeal *To Toiling Mankind* and several directives commemorating Lenin. The Congress approved the request of the Petrograd Soviet to change the name of the city of Petrograd to Leningrad.

FROM THE APPEAL OF THE SECOND CONGRESS OF SOVIETS *TO TOILING MANKIND*

January 26, 1924

We bury Lenin. The world-renowned genius of the proletarian revolution has left us. The giant of thought, will, and action is dead. Hundreds of millions of workers, peasants, colonial slaves mourn the death of the great leader. The workers of Russia, those whom Lenin had rallied and led into the victorious battle, led through all dangers by his wise, iron, masterful hand, have crowded in hundreds of thousands beside his bier. From all over the world flow waves of grief and mourning. Even foes, those against whom the fiery revolutionary fought vigorously, are compelled to lower their banners. All understand that the bright star of mankind has fallen. From his coffin, Lenin has risen to the world in all his greatness.

In the coming epoch, in all ages, this giant figure will stand. For Lenin was and will be, even after physical death, the leader of new mankind, the herald, prophet, creator of the new world...

The Second Congress of Soviets

A.M. GORKY ON LENIN

Vladimir Lenin, a real man of this world, has passed away. His death is a painful blow to all who knew him, a very painful blow!

But the black border of death shall but emphasise his importance in the eyes of all the world—the importance of the leader of the working people of the world.

If the clouds of hatred for him, the clouds of lies and slander woven round him were even denser, neither they nor any other forces could dim the torch he had raised in the stifling darkness of the world gone mad.

Never has there been a man who more than he deserves to be remembered by the whole world.

The leader's death rallied the workers around the Party even more. The Lenin recruitment to the Party was declared. Under this call some 240,000 people joined the Party.

In July 1924, the Sixth Congress of the Komsomol—Russian Communist Youth League (RCYL)—opened in Moscow. At the suggestion of the RCYL Central Committee, the Congress adopted a resolution to name the Komsomol the Russian Leninist Communist Youth League (since 1926—the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League).

THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE RESTORATION PERIOD. IMPLEMENTING LENIN'S PLAN OF BUILDING SOCIALISM IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Notwithstanding the enormous economic difficulties faced by the country after the civil war, the effort of the Soviet government and all working people succeeded in completing the restoration of the national economy by 1925. That year, the land under cultivation comprised 99.3 per cent as compared with the prewar (1913) level, and, by the close of 1926 it had outstripped the 1913 level. The number of live-stock began to rise rapidly too. Many factories, plants, electric power stations resumed work; transport was reanimated; the number of industrial workers was growing and the labour productivity of the working class was rising. Production conferences, spread on a mass scale throughout 1923-25, became a good form of involving workers in the building of the Soviet national economy and educating new cadres of economic managers and officials from among the workers.

By the end of 1925, industrial output had reached 75.5 per cent of its prewar level, and in 1926—exceeded it by 8.1 per cent.

Already during the years of the civil war, the Soviet government had conducted cultural and educational work among the masses, on a wide scale. It spared no effort to make the wealth of culture and science available to all peoples of Russia. Schools, libraries, museums, theatres, colleges, laboratories were opened for workers and peasants. Since its inception, the Republic of Soviets had been creating conditions for educating previously oppressed peoples, who under Soviet government were given the right to receive school instruction in their own native language.

The effort to overcome illiteracy— a grim legacy of tsarist rule—was declared a matter of great importance. The peoples of Central Asia, with a 99 per cent rate of illiteracy, were in the most difficult situation.

On 26 December 1919, Lenin signed a decree On Elimination of Illiteracy Among the Population of the RSFSR. In July 1920, an All-Russia Extraordinary Commission on Elimination of Illiteracy was set up under the RSFSR People's Commissariat of Education; and in the autumn of 1923, a voluntary society called Down with Illiteracy was organised, headed by the Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR, Mikhail Kalinin. Within the first decade of Soviet power, 10 million adults learned to read and write.

The reform of higher schools which was carried out during the restoration period made it possible to open the doors of higher education to wide sections of proletarian youth. This had been largely promoted by "workers' faculties" set up in 1920. In February 1924, the RSFSR Council of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom) approved the Decree on Workers' Faculties.

NEWSPAPER *PRAVDA* ON THE FIRST SUCCESSES IN THE RESTORATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY. THE BUILDING OF AN ELECTRIC LOCOMOTIVE

Leningrad, 20 March 1924. Work has been completed on the assembly of the 1,000 h.p. motor for the first Russian electric locomotive being built in Leningrad. In the next few days, comprehensive tests of the electric locomotive's speed and payload capacity will be conducted in a division of the October Railway.

Makeyevka, 21 April 1924. In the presence of a massive assembly of industrial workers and peasants, the second blast furnace was launched into operation at the Makeyevka Iron-and-Steel Works in Donbass. Its productive capacity is 600,000 poods* per month.

On 23 September 1924, the newspaper *Trud* published regulations, approved by the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, of production conferences at enterprises. Production conferences were effective in raising labour productivity and helped production management to streamline the operation of those enterprises which were falling behind.

FROM THE ENTERPRISES PRODUCTION CONFERENCES REGULATIONS

Currently, when the problem of labour productivity has come to the forefront, production conferences must place their emphasis on the questions pertaining to an overall rise in the enterprises' productiveness.

The disclosure of all production drawbacks which cause waste of labour time, decreasing labour productivity, must be the touchstone of the work of production conferences...

STRENGTHENING OF THE USSR'S INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The achievements in economic development and the firm foreign policy won the Soviet State a solid international respect. Throughout 1924 and 1925, the majority of countries in Europe and a number of countries in Asia and America established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

THE RED ARMY'S HELP TO THE PEOPLE OF MONGOLIA

In 1921, following the request of the Popular-Revolutionary Government of Mongolia, formed in March of 1921, the Government of the RSFSR

*An old Russian unit of weight equal to about 36.11 pounds.—*Ed.*

came to the assistance of the Mongolian People's Army in their fight to expel the White forces of Baron Ungern from Mongolia. On 6 July, units of the Mongolian and the Red armies liberated the city of Urga (Ulan Bator). On 5 November 1921, Mongolia and the RSFSR signed a treaty on mutual recognition. Friendly relations were established between the Soviet and Mongolian peoples.

Leaflet

Mongol Brothers!

The Red troops of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic have entered the territory of Mongolia—but the people of Mongolia must not have fears, for not as enemies but as friends and liberators are our troops marching into Outer Mongolia.

The Red Army are at war not with the Mongolian people but with the murderer Baron Ungern, who has risen against the power of the Russian workers and peasants...

Mongolian people! As friend and liberator does the Red Army enter your territory, as friend and brother you must meet it, help it to expel Ungern and liberate Mongolia.

Soviet Russia was the first to recognise Afghanistan's independence from the British Crown, proclaimed in 1919. On 28 February 1921, a treaty of friendship was signed between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan that has served as a basis for promotion of stable and friendly ties between the two countries.

FROM THE TREATY BETWEEN RUSSIA AND AFGHANISTAN

February 28, 1921

The Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic on the one side, and the High State of Afghanistan on the other, have decided to conclude this treaty with the aim to strengthen the friendly relations between Russia and Afghanistan and safeguard the actual independence of Afghanistan...

ARTICLE I

The High Contracting Parties, having acknowledged each other's sovereignty and pledged respect for it, now enter regular diplomatic relations.

ARTICLE II

The High Contracting Parties bind themselves not to enter into a military or political agreement with a third State which might prejudice any of the Contracting Parties.

A trade agreement with Britain was signed in March 1921. That agreement showed that Britain had recognised the Soviet State de facto; it signified Britain's departure from the blockade of Soviet Russia and its acknowledgement of the Soviet government's foreign trade monopoly. This made it possible to import a large quantity of British machinery and equipment for the needs of the Soviet economy.

TRADE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

(excerpt)

March 16, 1921

1. Both Parties agree not to establish or maintain, in any form, a blockade against each other and to urgently eliminate all obstacles that until now have stood in the way of renewing trade in a variety of goods between the United Kingdom and Russia...

In April 1922, an international conference was convened in Genoa (Italy). Representatives of 29 countries arrived to take part. It was the first major international conference attended by representatives of the young Soviet State. The Soviet delegation was headed by the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Georgy Chicherin. Representatives of capitalist countries insisted that Russia pay the debts contracted by the Tsarist, Provisional, and White governments, return nationalised property to foreign owners, and annul the government's monopoly over foreign trade. The Soviet delegation firmly rejected all these demands of the capitalist powers.

A treaty with Germany, concluded in Rapallo (off Genoa) on 16 April 1922, constituted a major success for Soviet diplomacy; it provided for normal diplomatic relations to be established between Soviet Russia and Germany.

FROM THE TREATY CONCLUDED BETWEEN RSFSR AND GERMANY IN RAPALLO

April 16, 1922

ARTICLE 1

Both governments agree that the disagreements between the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic and the

German State concerning questions that arose during the war between Russia and Germany are to be regulated on the following basis:

1. The RSFSR and the German State mutually waive their claims to compensation for military expenditures and likewise for the military losses suffered by the countries and their citizens in the theatre of war as a result of hostilities, including requisitions made in the territory of the opposing Party. Both Parties likewise waive their claims to compensation for non-military losses inflicted on citizens of one Party through the operation of the so-called extraordinary war-time laws and coercive undertakings by government bodies of the other Party.

The working people in capitalist countries demanded that their governments recognise Soviet Russia. Urged by public opinion and realising the futility of the policy of non-recognition, within 1924 to 1925 governments in many capitalist countries established regular diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. The first to do so was the British government, which established diplomatic relations with the USSR in February 1924.

CABLE OF BRITISH WORKERS TO PRIME MINISTER LLOYD GEORGE WITH A DEMAND TO RECOGNISE THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

London, 7 January 1922 (from the newspaper *Pravda*'s own correspondent). Eight million organised British workers, realising how closely the disorder of the British trade is connected with the effects of the dangerous growth of unemployment following Russia's exclusion from the community of civilised nations, speak vigorously for a full-scale political recognition of the Russian government by Britain, together with her allies—if possible—and if not, then separately.

FIRST SUCCESSES OF INDUSTRIALISATION

Guided by Lenin's plan for building socialism in the USSR, the Party developed a concrete programme building the material and technical base of socialism. Once the restoration period was over, socialist reconstruction of the entire national economy was the principal objective.

The 14th Party Congress took place in December 1925. The Congress decided to rename the RCP(B). It was called the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks). It approved the course of the Central Committee

for the priority development of heavy industry, for the rapid growth of the production of the means of production.

Socialist industrialisation proceeded in the conditions of capitalist encirclement, when capitalist states made every effort externally and internally to thwart socialist construction in the USSR. Trotsky and his allies (Zinoviev, Kamenev, and others) opposed Lenin's plan for the building of socialism in the USSR. The Trotskyites propagated views on the impossibility of building socialism in the USSR without the aid of victorious proletariat in other countries. The Party exposed the petty-bourgeois nature of the Trotskyite allegations concerning ways to build socialism in the USSR. Important projects marked the early years of industrialisation: several new industries were created, extensive electrification was carried out, and construction of major factories and plants was begun.

FROM THE RESOLUTION OF THE 14TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU(B) ON THE REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

December 23, 1925

...The Congress binds the Central Committee to abide by the following directives in the area of economic policy.

(a) To bring to the forefront the following objectives: to ensure everywhere the triumph of socialist economic forms over private capital; to strengthen the government's monopoly over foreign trade; to provide for the growth of socialist state-owned industry and for the involvement—under its leadership and through cooperation—of increasing numbers of peasant holdings in the mainstream of socialist construction.

(b) To make the USSR economically independent in order to prevent its becoming an appendix of the capitalist world economy; and to this end, to hold to a line of industrialising the country, developing the production of the means of production, and setting up reserves for economic manoeuvring.

Capitalist countries had developed their industry by ruining peasants, exploiting the working class and working people, and plundering colonies. Unlike capitalist countries, the USSR carried out industrialisation by relying on domestic sources of accumulation. The Party and government, therefore, mobilised working people to an effort for the strictest policy of economy.

FROM THE APPEAL OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS, THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE CENTRAL CONTROL COMMISSION OF THE CPSU(B) TO ALL PARTY AND SOVIET ORGANISATIONS

August 16, 1926

The question of the policy of economy is a question of preserving the alliance of the industrial workers and peasants, the question of further developing our industry, a question of fighting and overcoming the red tape which pervades our economic and administrative bodies.

It is one or the other: either we maintain the policy of economy, drastically reduce the size and spending of the economic and administrative apparatus, release funds needed for industrialisation—thus preserving and consolidating the alliance of industrial workers and peasants; or we fail to maintain the policy of economy, burden the peasants with fresh expenditures involved in the maintenance of the cumbersome bureaucratic apparatus—thus thwarting the alliance of the industrial workers and peasants, and thus thwarting the cause of industrialisation.

In answer to the Party's appeal, the Komsomol joined in vigorous effort in carrying out the policy of economy and against red tape. One form of young people's participation in the work to improve the operation of the government apparatus were the Komsomol "light horse" groups, which were involved on a broad basis in inspections and roaming spot checks.

FROM THE LETTER OF THE CENTRAL CONTROL COMMISSION OF THE CPSU(B) AND THE KOMSOMOL CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO THE MEMBERS OF KOMSOMOL AND SOVIET YOUTH ON THE WORK OF "LIGHT HORSE" GROUPS

December 21, 1928

In just a short period of time, the "light horse" groups have shown their viability by attaining positive results in disclosing and eliminating cases of red tape, delay or inaction, slipshodness—and even a few cases of crime—in the Soviet apparatus...

The "New Opposition" headed by Zinoviev and Kamenev, which had opposed the Party's general line at the 14th Party Congress, continued their dissentient activities after the Congress. The capitulators sought to employ Komsomol organisations in their struggle against the Party but they failed to weaken the Komsomol's inviolable allegiance to the Party's general line.

FROM THE RESOLUTION OF A MEETING OF ALMA ATA KOMSOMOL MEMBERS

August 1926

The city Komsomol organisation finds the attack of the New Opposition upon the Party and its Central Committee an impertinent move with no precedent in the entire record of the CPSU(B)...

The Komsomol says a resolute 'No' to all attempts by the Opposition to win Komsomol members to its side. The Komsomol is always with the Party, is always guided by the Party. It is an objective of the Komsomol organisation to learn a lesson from the Opposition's mistakes, and to grow, under the leadership of the CPSU(B), into genuine Leninist Bolsheviks. The unity of the Communist Party (B) will be preserved. Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and its leader—the Central Committee!

On the eve of the festivities in honour of the 10th anniversary of the October Revolution, members of the Trotsky-Zinoviev opposition bloc issued a leaflet in Leningrad entitled "To the 7 November Demonstrations". On 7 November, they organised anti-Soviet demonstrations in the streets of Moscow and Leningrad. Thus the Opposition became a counter-revolutionary force openly antagonistic to the dictatorship of the proletariat, to Soviet government. In answer to the Opposition's open anti-Soviet moves, the Party Central Committee issued a letter, "To All CPSU(B) Organisations".

FROM THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE LETTER "TO ALL CPSU(B) ORGANISATIONS"

November 11, 1927

The Opposition has suffered a crushing defeat in all Party organisations. The Party as a whole, and its working-class cells in particular, have firmly and unequivocally disassociated themselves from the Opposition, thus isolating it as a small anti-Party group of dissenters.

Perceiving their isolation, the Opposition leaders are switching over to a "new", Menshevist, line. They are turning away

from the Party, breaking off their last ties with it, and beginning to apply for help from forces alien to the Party. The anti-Soviet speeches made by Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Smilga and others in the streets of Moscow and Leningrad on the day of the 10th anniversary of the October Revolution, the violent seizure of a lecture-hall in the Moscow Higher Technical School for the purpose of conducting a clandestine anti-Party meeting, the assaults on representatives of the Party line at clandestine meetings organised by the Opposition—all these actions plus similar facts registered in recent days show that the Opposition, having lost its struggle within the Party and disgraced itself in the eyes of the working class during the 7 November demonstrations, is now beginning to gather forces alien to the working class around itself and is preparing new anti-Soviet demonstrations.

Viewing such moves on the part of the Opposition, and its leaders in particular, as totally inadmissible and incompatible with membership in our Lenin's Party, the CPSU(B) CC has deemed it necessary to transfer the issue of the latest anti-Party demonstrations by the Opposition to the Central Control Commission.

NEWSPAPER *PRAVDA* ON ACHIEVEMENTS BY SOVIET MECHANICAL ENGINEERING

A LOOM MADE IN THE USSR

Tula, 3 September. The Tula Armoury Factory, which was partly converted to loom-building after the war, has currently completed the assembly of a water loom whose parts were all manufactured at the factory. Testing of the new machine has shown brilliant results. The 600-spindle loom works well.

Up to the present time all weaving machinery has been imported from Britain. The loom produced by the Tula factory is the first attempt at producing this type of machinery in Russia.

September 5, 1925

NOT INFERIOR TO BRITISH MACHINERY

Testing of a new Soviet-made coal-cutter manufactured at the Sormovo plant is being conducted by the Nesvetayevo mining board of the Shakhty District. The tests have shown

that the Soviet machines are in no way inferior to British-made machinery in their characteristics. The commission report states that it is not expedient to import coal-cutters. The Sormovo plant is well equipped with machine-tools of the latest design.

April 12, 1928

THE COURSE ON COLLECTIVISATION OF AGRICULTURE

By the beginning of the Revolution's eleventh year, the contradiction between the vast achievements in the development of socialist industry and the severe lagging behind of agriculture had become clearly pronounced. Industry was large-scale and concentrated, while agriculture remained small-scale and fragmented.

The 15th Congress of the CPSU(B), held in December 1927, adopted a decision for the all-out development of collectivisation in agriculture. It set forth the task of preparing socialism's offensive on all fronts. The Communist Party and Soviet government began extensive organisational work to build up conditions for massive collectivisation.

FROM THE RESOLUTION OF THE 15TH CPSU(B) CONGRESS ON THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE REPORT

December 19, 1927

The continual transfer of scattered peasant holdings onto the lines of large-scale production on the basis of further cooperation of the peasantry (collective land cultivation based on intensification and machinisation of agriculture) must be put forth as the primary objective; while the first shoots of socialised agricultural labour must be given utmost support and encouragement.

LETTER OF THE ULIANOVSKY AREA CPSU(B) COMMITTEE TO THE POOR PEASANT S.I. YERMOLAYEV OF THE VILLAGE OF IVANOVKA IN KORSUNSKY DISTRICT ON WAYS TO COMBAT POVERTY

November 13, 1928

Start organising a collective of poor peasants, like you, and of middle peasants if they wish to join...

You all will be given land, in the same place, and the

best one at that; land-tenure regulations will be carried out free of charge.

The state will give you credits for developing the collective farm...

1926-1932: SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

The Soviet people had to carry out socialist industrialisation in a complicated international situation. The ruling circles in capitalist countries, perceiving the strengthening and progress of the Soviet Union as a threat to the entire system of capitalism, mounted new attacks against the USSR. British imperialism was in the forefront of anti-Soviet policies.

However, the imperialists' calculations that a new intervention could be organised against the USSR were thwarted by the growing might of the Soviet Union, its consistently peaceful foreign policies, the opposition of working people in the majority of capitalist countries to the anti-Soviet moves of imperialist governments, and the stake of some capitalist countries in developing trade with the USSR.

The general strike of British workers in 1926, as well as the growth of the national liberation movement in countries enslaved by imperialists and the Soviet people's solidarity with this movement, provoked a new tide of anti-Soviet moves on the part of imperialist powers. On 27 May 1927, the British Conservative government announced that it was severing diplomatic relations with the USSR. However, the pressure of the popular masses, who insisted that diplomatic and economic relations with the USSR be restored, made the Labour government, which succeeded the Conservatives, restore, on 6 October 1929, diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

In the summer of 1929, a Soviet-Chinese military conflict flared up in the Far East. On 10 July the Chinese authorities grossly violated the 1924 agreement on joint management of the Chinese Eastern Railway owned by the Soviet Union. They seized the telegraph offices along the entire length of the railway line, closed and sealed all Soviet missions, dismissed and arrested all Soviet railway officials and replaced them with Chinese personnel.*

The Soviet government took all steps possible toward a peaceful settlement of the conflict. Chinese militarists, however, continued to persecute and arrest Soviet citizens. Under these conditions, the Soviet government took decisive measures to provide for the security of its Far Eastern frontiers.

GREETING OF THE CPSU(B) CC TO SOLDIERS AND COMMANDERS OF THE SPECIAL FAR EASTERN ARMY

November 6, 1929

Fraternal greeting to the soldiers and commanders of the Special Far Eastern Army defending the rights and interests

*The Chinese Eastern Railway was built by Russia in 1897-1903 in accordance with an agreement with the Chinese government. Passing through the territory of Manchuria, it was the shortest route from the Baikal area to the Maritime area.—*Ed.*

of the October Revolution against encroachments by Chinese landlords and capitalists.

Watch vigilantly for every move of the Chinese counter-revolutionaries, answer each blow with a crushing counter-blow, and by this, help our brothers in China, Chinese workers and peasants, to shatter the yoke of landlords and capitalists.

In 1932, Radical Socialists, headed by Edouard Herriot, came to power in France. Taking into account the sentiments prevailing among the working people, the new French Government took steps toward a rapprochement with the USSR. A non-aggression pact between the USSR and France was signed on 29 November 1932. Soviet representative Valerian Dovgalevsky made a speech at the signing of the pact.

SPEECH BY SOVIET PLENIPOTENTIARY IN FRANCE V.S. DOVGALEVSKY AT THE SIGNING OF THE NON-AGGRESSION PACT BETWEEN THE USSR AND FRANCE

I am happy to be able, on behalf of my Government, to sign my name today under the French-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact...

True to its consistent policy of peace and friendly relations with all countries, the Government of the USSR attaches great political and moral importance to this pact which answers the peaceful aspirations guiding the peoples of France and the USSR.

In the same way as the Government of the French Republic the Soviet Government will make every possible effort to ensure that the pact we have just signed prove to be effective and advantageous to the interests of both parties.

THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM'S ECONOMIC FOUNDATION

The First Five-Year Plan of the USSR's Economic Development (1928-32) was the first programme of socialism's all-out offensive.

With tremendous enthusiasm, the working people of the Soviet Union set out to fulfil the Plan targets. This period saw the building of the Dnieper Hydroelectric Power Station, tractor plants in Stalingrad and Kharkov, the Iron-and-Steel Works in Magnitogorsk, the Turkmenia-Siberia Railway, the city Komsomolsk-on-the-Amur and other industrial giants of the first five-year plan period.

The socialist industrialisation laid down the material basis for strengthening the country's economic independence, technological reconstruction in all sectors of the economy and achieving the transfer of agriculture onto a new socialist foundation.

In late 1929, collectivisation in a number of districts and areas assumed the character of total collectivisation of individual farms in all villages and settlements. This had made it possible to eliminate the last remaining exploiter class—the kulaks.

The first five-year plan was fulfilled in four years and three months. Over 1,500 major industrial enterprises were commissioned and several new industries created—automobile, aviation, tractor, machine-tool construction, and instrument-making. Socialist farm enterprises—kolkhozes and sovkhozes (state farms)—came to prevail in agriculture.

The successful completion of the first five-year plan assignments ensured the socialist sector a superior position in all areas of the national economy. This signified that the economic foundation of socialism in the USSR had in the main been built.

FROM THE 5TH CONGRESS OF SOVIETS RESOLUTION "ON THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL ECONOMY"

May 28, 1929

Note that the tremendous advantages of the Soviet economic system and the correct economic policies of the Soviet government—based upon a firm alliance between the working class and the poor and middle peasants— have made it possible to rebuild the national economy of the country, exceeding the pre-war level, and to set the country on the path of socialist reconstruction. As a comprehensive programme of socialist reconstruction of the national economy, the five-year plan proposed by the government is in keeping with the general line of the Soviet government on the industrialisation of the USSR, socialist reconstruction in the rural areas, elimination of capitalist elements and a steady enhancement of socialist elements in the country's economic system, and a rise in the Soviet Union's defence capability.

The construction of a hydro-electric power station on the Dnieper began in March 1927. This power station, named after Lenin, began operating in October 1932, a year before schedule. At the time, it was the largest in Europe. Its installed capacity was 560,000 kw.

Many thousand young men and women from all parts of the country worked on the construction of the Dnieper station. The young people comprised 70 per cent of all workers. The front-rank Komsomol teams engaged in concreting and assembly provided a true example of socialist labour and showed a record-high labour productivity.

For its heroic labour, the Komsomol organisation of the Dnieper station builders (Dneprostroy) was awarded the Order of Lenin, as was the organiser of the first Komsomol team of concrete workers, Eugenia Romanko.

FROM THE RESOLUTION OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE USSR CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON AWARDING THE DNEPROSTROY KOMSOMOL ORGANISATION THE ORDER OF LENIN

The Dneprostroy Komsomols showed examples of truly Bolshevist drive for implementing construction assignments. Through their ardent and valiant effort, the Komsomols inspired and led the entire collective of the Dneprostroy young workers.

FROM THE CC CPSU(B) RESOLUTION "ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE MAGNITOGORSK IRON-AND-STEEL WORKS"

January 25, 1931

The significance of the Magnitogorsk Works for the national economy—determined by its installed productive capacity of 2.5 million tons of pig iron with a further rise to 4 million—is all the greater for its geographic position at the junction of the industrial Urals region, the areas of non-ferrous metallurgy of the East and Kazakhstan, and huge territories in Siberia, Kazakhstan, and Central Asia suitable for farming. Construction of the Magnitogorsk Works must become a practical school for developing new forms and methods of socialist labour, technology, and personnel training for further industrialisation of the Soviet Union.

In the harsh winter of 1929, the first builders' tent appeared at the foot of the mountain Magnitnaya. In a short time, a veritable tent city rose in the steppe. In answer to the call of the Party, many thousand people came to this great socialist project from all parts of the country. Young men and women comprised 60 per cent of all the workers of the Magnitnaya project (Magnitostroy).

On 1 February 1932, blast furnace No. 1 gave its first output of pig iron. The Magnitogorsk Komsomol City Committee decided that blast furnace No. 2 would be built by the Komsomol members. It was put into operation in early June 1932. The building of the second blast furnace initiated the fine tradition of the shock Komsomol building projects of national importance.

LETTER FROM THE MAGNITNAYA KOMSOMOL MEMBERS TO THE HEAD OF MAGNITOSTROY Y. GUGEL

We have decided that one of the vital parts of the project—blast furnace No. 2—must be built by Komsomols and young people under the management of the engineering personnel, and

we intend to show a truly Bolshevist rate and high quality of work so as to implement the Party decision on the construction of the Magnitogorsk works.

The first tractor works—in Stalingrad—was built in the first five-year period. The works put out its first tractor on 17 June 1930. It was brought to Moscow and driven along several streets, to Red Square, and past the Lenin Mausoleum.

CABLE FROM THE PROJECT HEAD AND THE SECRETARY OF THE STALINGRAD TRACTOR WORKS PARTY COMMITTEE TO THE CC CPSU(B) AND THE NEWSPAPER *PRAVDA*

Stalingrad, 17 June. Today the assembly line has launched the first tractor. Lenin's behest—to change from the peasant horse of poverty to the horse of large-scale machine industry—is being implemented... The tractor works is opened. The effort for higher production rates continues.

Project Head
Ivanov
Party Committee Secretary
Suchkov

Given below is an extract from an essay by journalist V.A. Myakushkov on the building of the First State Bearing Plant in Moscow.

V.A. MYAKUSHKOV

BEYOND THE KRESTYANSKAYA ZASTAVA

It was the thirteenth year of Soviet government. Beyond the Krestyanskaya Zastava district of Moscow were waste lands which municipal officials in pre-revolutionary Moscow had considered an unsuitable place for building. Sukino Boloto was an area well known only to garbage collectors and to gypsies, who every year had spread their tents on it...

One cold April day, ten topographers equipped with tape-measures came to Sukino Boloto to measure ground and drive in pegs. No one paid particular attention to them. But when, a few days later, navvies with carts appeared on the waste lands and began clearing the place for a construction site, word spread, to the joy of the local people, that Sukino Boloto was done for and that the First State Bearing Plant would be built in its place. The construction site grew more and more lively

with every passing day... More and more builders were coming: carpenters with saws and axes, bricklayers with trowels, riggers with crowbars and ropes. They lifted and moved beams, carried bricks, unloaded the equipment arriving at the building site—and all that by hand...

The Party and Komsomol committees of the project had become veritable headquarters. Communists and Komsomols were first to come to all construction priority sections. They organised overtime work, worked themselves to the bone clearing the construction site after-hours to complete the day's assignment, speeded up the building of wooden barracks for housing, a canteen, and other utilities... Work went on round the clock. Voluntary overtime was in fact, an everyday practice...

The first bearing was turned out sooner than the greatest optimists had expected.

It happened on 19 January 1932.

On 5 February 1937, the newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* published a letter sent by a Komsomol member from the Far East, Valentina Hetagurova, who called on women Komsomol to come to the Far East. That call gave rise to one of the most glorious and extensive patriotic movements of Soviet youth. During several months, over 60,000 persons had answered the call. Those girls of different occupations, calling themselves Hetagurovites, went to open up the Soviet Far East.

ELIMINATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT

In 1925, the number of unemployed registered at the labour exchange office had reached 952,000.

In the first five-year period, unemployment was done away with completely and for all times. On 9 October 1930, the USSR People's Commissariat for Labour passed the resolution, "On immediately sending the unemployed to work and on the discontinuance of unemployment benefits". The labour exchange offices were reorganised into personnel departments.

PROGRESS OF SOCIALIST EMULATION

Socialist emulation was one of the most important factors which ensured the success of industrialisation. A movement for stricter labour discipline and higher labour productivity unfolded at enterprises on a broad scale. An important role was played in this by Lenin's article, "How to Organise Competition?", written in 1918 and published for the first time in *Pravda*, on 20 January 1929.

Workers of the Leningrad plant Krasny Vyborzhets were the initiators of the country-wide socialist emulation.

Given below is a story told by a Communist of the Lenin Enrolment and worker of the Leningrad plant Krasny Vyborzhets M.Y. Putin about the first socialist emulation agreement.

M.Y. PUTIN

ON THE FIRST SOCIALIST EMULATION AGREEMENT

...The spring of 1929, country-wide roll-call of enterprises, start of socialist emulation...

That year, I remember, I read Lenin's article "How to Organise Competition?"

One day, during a lunch break, I told the workers of my team about article. They got interested, asked me to read it to them. I can remember how they gathered around me, listening very attentively. I was reading slowly, so that they could take in everything, and stopped to explain places which were not quite clear to them.

Lenin's fervent words on emulation made a deep impression on the workers. This was partly explained by the situation which existed at the plant. It was still operating very badly. As a rule, the plans were not fulfilled. The reason for this were breaches of discipline at work by many of the plant's workers. Delays, truancy, and defective products were an everyday occurrence.

Needless to say, most of the workers were not content with that state of affairs. They firmly opposed truancy, laziness and poor workmanship. Unless an end was put to these faults, the plant could not fulfil its five-year assignment. And my team thought that the five-year assignment could be fulfilled in less than five years.

While we were talking with the workers a thought struck me: why not organise an emulation at team, shop, and plant levels here? I consulted my audience.

"Let's organise an emulation ending truancy, delays, rejects, so that everybody works in earnest and fulfils his personal assignment over and above the plan," I suggested.

By the end of the lunch break we had reached a decision: to commence a socialist emulation.

Somehow I felt that our decision must be secured in a document. I suggested compiling an agreement...

The following points were listed in our agreement: to voluntarily lower the wage-rate by 10 per cent; to raise labour productivity by 10 per cent; to allow for no defective work; to be one of the most disciplined teams in our shop.

Each item of the agreement was discussed long and thoroughly. We debated, argued...

Our agreement stirred up the plant. It looked as though

the collective had begun a new life. Our most ardent supporters were young workers...

The idea of counter-planning was born in the years of the First Five-Year Plan. The movement was initiated, in April 1930, by front-rank workers at the Karl Marx Mechanical Engineering Plant in Leningrad.

Listed below are preliminary results of the production-and-financial counter-plans in industry, taken from the report of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions' department of press and materials for the period from 1 to 17 October 1930.

PRODUCTION-AND-FINANCIAL COUNTER-PLAN AS A NEW FORM OF EMULATION

October 18, 1930

The effort for fulfilment and overfulfilment of production-and-financial plan assignments has produced a new form of socialist emulation, that of counter-plans put forward by industrial workers. In fulfilment of the counter-plans, the planned assignments are sometimes exceeded to a *significant extent*. Notably, *Azneft* planned oil output for 1930/31 to reach 12,875 thous. tons. *Soyuzneft* planned a higher figure of 13,121 thous. tons. The workers' counter-plan was 13,353 thous. tons, a 478,000 increase as compared to the initial *Azneft* plan...

The initiator of counter-plans—the Karl Marx Plant—provides a graphic example. Its workers managed to raise the productive capacity of the iron foundry to 14,500 tons (from the planned 9,000 tons), and raised the productivity of labour by 40 per cent as compared to the first six months. The same can be said about the Dzerzhinsky Plant, where, due to the counter-plan, the workers managed to raise the output of boilers by 52 per cent as compared with the initial plan...

Another form of mass-scale socialist emulation which was widespread during the first five-year plan period was the shock team. Many factories and plants were declared shock-work enterprises in the course of the socialist emulation.

FROM THE RULES OF THE YOUNG WORKERS' FRONT-RANK (SHOCK) TEAM OF THE ROLLING WORKSHOP AT THE ZLATOUST IRON-AND-STEEL WORKS

March 20, 1929

1. A member of the front-rank team may be any young worker who adheres to the plant regulations and the team rules.

2. A front ranker maintains an honest and conscientious attitude toward work; strives to produce more high-quality metal; fights wasted time, truancy, and slipshodness at work...

3. When at work, a front ranker thinks about nothing but work. When difficulties arise, he always turns for help to the foreman or tooler.

4. He treats carefully all machinery, mechanisms, and all rolling facilities...

8. A front ranker is obliged to carry out all orders related to work given by the foreman as he keeps in mind that the foreman is his elder and is in charge of the production process.

9. A front ranker seeks to raise his qualification level and political knowledge.

10. A front ranker must take an active part in production conferences...

11. A front ranker must be advanced in all areas: not only contribute to the organised effort to improve production by his own good example, take a conscientious stand towards work, and influence other workers; but, also, set a good example in the social life of the shop, school, club, and in day-to-day life...

TRANSFER TO TOTAL COLLECTIVISATION AND LIQUIDATION OF THE KULAKS AS A CLASS

The close of 1929 witnessed a breakthrough in the kolkhoz movement, both in the quantitative and qualitative senses: middle peasants—the central figures of the countryside—began joining kolkhozes. The kolkhoz movement entered a new stage. Total collectivisation of agriculture began.

FROM THE CPSU(B) CC RESOLUTION "ON THE TEMPO OF COLLECTIVISATION AND ON GOVERNMENT MEASURES TO ASSIST THE BUILD-UP OF KOLKHOZES"

January 5, 1930

1. The collective movement has made a new step forward in recent months, having encompassed not only individual groups of households but whole settlements, districts and even areas and regions. Its basis is collectivisation of the means of production of poor and middle peasant holdings.

We have, therefore, a material base for *replacing* large-scale kulak production with *large-scale* kolkhoz production

and for a great advance towards creating socialist agriculture, to say nothing of sovkhozes—whose growth has been exceeding all outlines.

This situation, which is of major importance for the entire USSR national economy, has given the Party reason to move on in their practical work from policies of limiting the kulaks' exploitation tendencies to policies of liquidating the kulaks as a class...

In November 1929, a Party Plenary Meeting approved a decision to dispatch 25,000 industrial workers to work permanently in the countryside in order to consolidate the leading role of the working class in the kolkhoz movement.

Throughout the winter and spring of 1930, some 30,000 workers were dispatched to the countryside. Of them, 31 per cent were Communists and 8 per cent Komsomol members. More than half of the workers had no less than a 10-year record of work.

FROM THE DECLARATION
OF THE 25-THOUSANDER, GANEV, WORKER
OF THE MOSCOW FACTORY "SERP I MOLOT"

I shall devote all my strength and knowledge to building a new, socialist village. It does not and will not make any difference to me that in the countryside I shall draw but a small portion of my current pay. I hope to see our backward, ignorant, fragmented village become a socialist village.

In January 1930, a 200-plus strong group of workers from Moscow and Ivanovo-Voznesensk came to Kirghizia. They launched on the organisation of kolkhozes in Kirghizia. Local kulaks fought viciously against kolkhozes, stopping at nothing, even murder.

FROM A REPORT
OF THE NEWSPAPER *SOVETSKAYA KIRGHIZIA*

May 15, 1930

Comrade Inzhevatsky, assistant manager of the machine-and-tractor station in the village of Sakaldy, Bazar-Kurgan District, Osh Area, was murdered by *basmaches* while on duty, at 11 p.m. of 12 May. Comrade Inzhevatsky was a 25-thousander from Moscow.

In some places, Leninist principles of kolkhoz-building were violated in the course of collectivisation. There the kolkhozes, organised against the will of the local peasants, collapsed. On 14 March 1930, the CC of the CPSU(B) adopted the Decision on the Struggle Against Distortions of the

Party Line in the Kolkhoz Movement. The kolkhozes were rendered significant organisational and economic assistance.

FROM THE RESOLUTION OF THE CPSU(B) CC ON THE STRUGGLE AGAINST DISTORTIONS OF THE PARTY LINE IN THE KOLKHOZ MOVEMENT

March 14, 1930

Reports on the progress of collectivisation received by the Party Central Committee show that, side by side with real and significant advances made by collectivisation, there are certain instances of distortion of the Party line in various regions of the USSR.

First of all, the principle of *voluntary* character of the kolkhoz movement is violated. In some regions, it is substituted with *coercion*, with peasants being forced to enter kolkhozes by the threat of expropriation, disfranchisement, etc. As a result, middle and even poor peasants are expropriated along with the kulaks, with, in some regions, the number of expropriated reaching 15 per cent of the local peasant population and the number of disfranchised—up to 15-20 per cent. There are cases of excessively brutal, ruthless and callous treatment of the population by local officials, who are sometimes victims of provocation by counter-revolutionary elements that have managed to penetrate the official bodies (acts of looting, confiscation and splitting of property, apprehensions of middle peasants and even of poor peasants, etc.). Meanwhile, spade-work for collectivisation and patient explanation of the foundations of Party policy to the poor as well as to the middle peasants are in some regions *substituted* with bureaucratic official decreeing of inflated figures from above and deliberate inflation of the figures for collectivisation (in some regions the proportion of collectivised may "grow" from 10 to 90 per cent in a few days).

This is a violation of Lenin's widely known position that kolkhozes are viable and durable only if built on the principle of voluntarity...

Besides these distortions, in some places there have been cases, inadmissible and detrimental to the cause of collectivisation, of forced socialisation of residential buildings, livestock, poultry and nonmarketable dairy cattle; as well as dunderheaded attempts to switch over from the artel form of

kolkhozes, which is the basic link in the kolkhoz movement, to communes. Those who proceed in such a manner have forgotten that our chief problem is not poultry or cucumbers, but grain. They have forgotten that the chief link in the kolkhoz movement is, currently, not the commune but the *agricultural artel.* They have forgotten that it was precisely this reason that the Party deemed it necessary to give them not draft rules of an agricultural *commune*, but the Draft Rules of the agricultural *artel.* The result of these deviations is a discredited kolkhoz movement in a number of regions and the peasants' departure from hastily knocked up, and hence unstable, communes and artels...

Central Committee
of the CPSU(B)

As a result of measures taken by the CC CPSU(B), the situation was corrected in those regions where the local authorities had violated the principle of the voluntary joining of a kolkhoz. Many of those peasants who had left kolkhozes because the local authorities had resorted to coercion, or in some other way violated the principle of kolkhoz-building, returned to the kolkhoz when the principle of voluntarity was restored and work was rearranged and improved.

ON THE RESULTS OF THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN PERIOD FROM A RESOLUTION OF THE 17TH CPSU(B) CONFERENCE

February 4, 1932

3. A major result of socialist construction in the first five-year period is that capitalism has been finally undermined in the countryside, which predetermined the total elimination of capitalist elements and the full abolition of classes. The completion of the building of the foundation of socialism in the USSR means that Lenin's question "Who will win?" has been settled in favour of socialism definitely and finally, in town and countryside alike.

FROM THE RESOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU "ON THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ADOPTION OF THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN FOR DEVELOPING THE NATIONAL ECONOMY OF THE USSR"

Planned development of the national economy is one of the major scientific and social achievements of the twentieth century and of the revolutionary practice of the transforma-

tion of social life. Lenin saw planning as the heart of the management of the national economy. Pointing out the necessity of a long-term national economic plan, he emphasised that, "we cannot work without a long-term plan that envisages important achievements".

Such was the First Five-Year Plan, drawn up in accordance with the directives put forward by the 15th Party Congress. It was the guiding economic and political document, a law for all sections of the country's production activities.

The First Five-Year Plan is of great historical significance in that it initiated the use of five-year assignments as the basic form of economic planning, made them a great organising and mobilising force in communist construction, and has, in practice, proved the superiority of socialist economic methods over capitalist methods.

Section Five

Building of Socialism in the USSR (1933-1937)

FOREIGN POLICY OF THE USSR

The international situation in 1933-37 was characterised by economic depression in the capitalist world, further deepening of all contradictions of capitalist society, the rising of the Nazis to power in Germany, and increased acts of aggression carried out by Germany, Japan, and Italy under the flag of anti-communism.

The expansionist policies and aggressive moves of these countries urged the more far-sighted politicians in the US (President Roosevelt), France (Prime Minister Herriot and Foreign Minister Barthou), and in other capitalist countries to seek a rapprochement with the Soviet Union, which firmly opposed aggressors and inciters of a new world war.

In its effort for peace, the Soviet Union did all it could to build up a system of collective security and check the aggressor.

In November 1933, regular diplomatic relations were established between the USSR and the USA (where the ruling circles had for 16 years refused to recognise the Soviet Republic).

In September 1934, the USSR was invited to join the League of Nations. In May 1935, the USSR signed treaties of mutual assistance with France and Czechoslovakia.

TREATY OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE BETWEEN THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND THE REPUBLIC OF FRANCE

(excerpt)

May 2, 1935

Article II

Should, in the circumstances specified in Article XV, Paragraph 7, of the Covenant of the League of Nations, France or USSR be the object, notwithstanding the sincerely peaceful intentions of both countries, of an unprovoked aggression on the part of a European state, the USSR, and recipro-

cally France, shall immediately come to each other's aid and assistance.

In 1936-39, a national revolutionary war raged in Spain. The Spanish Republic fought against insurgents headed by General Franco, who was being aided by German and Italian Fascists.

All progressive mankind rose in defence of the Spanish Republic. The Republican Army was joined by volunteers from many countries.

The Soviet Union rendered the Spanish people significant political, material and military aid. Among the Soviet volunteers who participated in the national revolutionary war of the Spanish people were 222 military advisers, 772 air pilots, 351 tankmen, 100 artillerymen, 77 navy men, 339 other military experts and 204 interpreters. Fifty-nine of the Soviet volunteers fighting in the ranks of the Republican Army were awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union.

Below is an extract from the Memoirs of Colonel-General Alexander Rodimtsev, twice Hero of the Soviet Union. He was a military adviser in Spain from September 1936 to August 1937. For valour shown in battles at Guadalajara, Brunete, Teruel, and the defence of Madrid, Rodimtsev was twice decorated with the Order of Red Banner and in 1937 was awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union.

A.I. RODIMTSEV

VOLUNTEERS OF FREEDOM

In a few hours, the Moroccans resumed the attack. The enemy spared no thought for losses. They plunged forward, leaving hundreds of killed and wounded in the field of battle. The full-flowing river, our natural line of defence, could no longer protect us. The Moroccans had launched tanks into battle. The first enemy tank was approaching the sole and vital crossing point. And then a Republican tank rushed out of the bushes nearby and forward on to the bridge. Well-aimed bursts shot down the advancing enemy infantry. The tank stopped in the middle of the bridge, turned its tower slightly—and the huge armoured enemy tank was put out of action by a direct hit.

The command inquired about the name of the brave soldier. According to the report it was Dmitry Pogodin. I was sincerely glad for my Moscow friend. Later it became known that both Dmitry and I were awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union.

In 1937, Japanese militarists unleashed vigorous military activities to seize China where a national liberation war began.

The Soviet Union rendered the Chinese people considerable assistance. It sent to China war technology, military advisers and experts, including air pilots.

More than 200 Soviet volunteer pilots fighting in the anti-Japanese war laid down their lives on Chinese soil.

THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Having successfully completed the assignments of the First Five-Year Plan, the Soviet people set out with great enthusiasm to implement the Second Five-Year Plan, charted by the 17th Party Congress in January-February 1934.

In the second Five-Year Plan period (1933-1937), the Soviet people completed socialist reconstruction of all sectors of the national economy, scored decisive victories for the cultural revolution, and built, in the main, socialist society. The victory of socialism was legislatively secured in the USSR Constitution of 1936—the constitution of victorious socialism. The completion of the Second Five-Year Plan signified the ending of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism that had lasted 20 years (1917-1937).

FROM THE RESOLUTION OF THE 17TH CPSU(B) CONGRESS "ON THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE USSR'S NATIONAL ECONOMY (1933-1937)"

"The main political objective of the Second Five-Year Plan is the final elimination of capitalist elements and classes as such, total removal of conditions giving rise to class differences and exploitation, doing away with the vestiges of capitalism in the economy and human consciousness, and conversion of the country's working population into conscious and active builders of a classless society" (*17th Party Conference*)...

Final abolition of the remnants of parasitical classes and an overall growth of public wealth, which is at the total disposal of the working people, must ensure, in the second five-year plan period, an even higher growth in the working-class and kolkhoz population's standard of living, a significant rise in real wages, and a two- to threefold increase of the working people's level of consumption.

The implementation of these objectives is possible only on the basis of a comprehensive reconstruction of the entire national economy—industry, transport, agriculture. Therefore, the chief and central economic objective of the Second Five-Year Plan is completion of the reconstruction of the national economy; the introduction of new technologies and new production processes is the decisive condition for that.

The need to use new technologies brought to the forefront the problem of personnel.

In 1935, a movement of front-rank workers for mastering new technologies and for high labour productivity was named the Stakhanov Movement. It was so named in honour of the Donbass miner, Alexey Stakhanov, who had mined 102 tons of coal in one work shift, thus exceeding the regular quota 14-fold.

The Stakhanov Movement spread throughout the country.

FROM THE MINE PARTY COMMITTEE RESOLUTION "ON COAL-HEWER A.G. STAKHANOV'S LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY"

August 31, 1935

To decree: that A.G. Stakhanov, during a 6-hour shift on the night of 31 August, established a world record of labour productivity by producing 102 tons of coal.

The plenary meeting of the mine Party committee notes the remarkable achievement of Comrade Stakhanov and stresses that he was able to establish this record only by mastering the technique of coal mining, developing a firm grasp of technology, and extricating all that it can give.

The plenary meeting acknowledges the contribution of section chief Mashurov and Party organiser Diukanov who could bring up such a hero as Stakhanov, could combine work for implementation of the plan assignments with the moulding of new heroes, making it possible for workers to advance to the forefront.

Assigning a special political significance to the record established by Stakhanov the plenary meeting of the mine Party committee sees in it the sure way to secure fulfilment of the annual plan ahead of schedule...

Steel workers of the country joined vigorously in the Stakhanov Movement. Record results were achieved by a team headed by Makar Mazay at the Ilyich Iron-Steel Plant in Mariupol.*

In October 1936, through the newspaper *Pravda*, Mazay's team put forth a challenge to all steel workers of the country. At the height of their competition, Mazay established a world record: 12 tons of steel per square metre of furnace sole in a work shift (6 hours 40 minutes).

People's Commissar for Heavy Industry, Sergo Orjonikidze, highly appreciated Makar Mazay's outstanding feat of labour.

PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR HEAVY INDUSTRY S. ORJONIKIDZE ON MAKAR MAZAY'S RECORD

Professors and academicians had rammed it into our heads that it was impossible to produce more than four tons of steel per square metre of furnace sole. And then one Kom-

*Makar Mazay went to work at the Ilyich Iron-and-Steel Plant in Mariupol (Zhdanov) in 1930. At the beginning of the Great Patriotic War, the distinguished steel worker took part in preparing the plant's machinery for evacuation to the Urals. When Germans invaded Mariupol, he went underground. A traitor tipped the Germans and Mazay was captured. Mazay was tortured and shot, when he refused to work for the Germans.—*Ed.*

somol member Mazay puts out twelve tons... Perhaps it was but once? No, he went on producing 12 tons per day for 25 days. Nothing like this can be found anywhere else in the world.

PRASKOVIA ANGELINA'S WOMEN'S TRACTOR TEAM

In 1930, P. Angelina (1912-59) graduated from a school of machine operators and became a tractor-driver. In 1933, she headed the first women's tractor team at the machine and tractor station in Staro-Beshevsk, Donetsk region.

In the 1930's-40's and the 1950's, Angelina and other distinguished women tractor-drivers initiated many patriotic movements in agriculture.

Given below is an extract from Angelina's book, *People in Kolkhoz Fields*, about the first workday, in 1933, of the women's tractor-driver team in the fields of the kolkhoz "Politotdel".

At last it came, the long-awaited spring of 1933. The tractors were ready. Our team members were waiting for the order to start. The very last preparations were in progress. Everything was checked and adjusted; it was as if we were getting ready for combat. Girls were excited. They keenly felt their responsibility and realised that theirs was an honourable mission: they were members of a women's Komsomol tractor-drivers' team—the first in the Soviet Union...

The girls started the engines. Everything around us came to life and began to hum. The tractors gave a start and moved forward smoothly. All the girls were in a festive, cheerful mood. They sang songs all the way to the kolkhoz. And suddenly we saw a huge crowd of women moving toward us. We could clearly hear their excited talk. The women moved closer. Shouts and threats could be heard.

"Turn back, you! We won't let your tractors on our fields!" Men joined them, all were shouting and waving hands, the women were yelling: "Out! Turn them out! Get them off our fields!"

We tried to push on, but the engines, damn them, would not start! Some in the crowd were laughing and sneering: "Just look at them, is it women driving tractors or tractors driving women?" It took us a full ten minutes to start the engines.

We were moving slowly, and the crowd followed us at a distance. We came to the field, turned around, began ploughing...

An hour passed, another, and another. The crowd watching us did not move. Then the women whispered to one another, and turned back to the village...

We ploughed virgin lands and sowed. The girls were silent. They worked nonstop, day and night. I alone knew how tired they were from driving the tractors, work that they were not accustomed to, from those monotonous rounds...

Time was precious. The tractors worked wonderfully well. They had ploughed a lot of land. I was outwardly calm, but inwardly—if anyone only knew! I worried about my fellow women. They had had no rest for days.

Early in the morning on our third day, black-haired boys appeared in the field. They were very much like their fathers and mothers with their bold and stern looks, thin and tanned to a deep brown...

"Good morning!", they cried together.

The children brought us white bread, milk, bacon fat, butter.

"All the village is coming here," said the boys with importance...

We saw a crowd in the distance but did not stop. First came an old collective farmer, Stepan Nikolayev, followed by limping and talkative old man Alexei. They were in the middle of a cheerful, passionate debate. Stepan stopped abruptly, as though too tired to take another step. Girls killed the engines. It was deadly quiet. It seemed to me that I could hear the people's breathing.

"Well done, girls! You are toppers! We have come to apologise for all the village!"

Our anger gave place to benignity. It was pleasant to listen to their praise of our work. And the girls indeed worked well...

Extraordinary Party organs—political departments (politotdels) at machine-and-tractor stations (MTS) and state farms created by the 11 January 1933 decision of the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the CPSU(B)—played an important part in the organisational and economic strengthening of the kolkhozes. The Central Committee sent 25,000 of the best Party workers to the politotdels. The politotdels carried out an enormous job of strengthening kolkhozes and MTS. The MTS politotdels were abolished in November 1934, while at state farms they continued to exist until 1940.

FROM THE RESOLUTION OF THE JOINT PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC AND CCC OF THE CPSU(B) OF 7-12 JANUARY 1933 "GOALS AND OBJECTIVES OF POLITOTDELS AT MTSs AND STATE FARMS"

For the purposes of political strengthening of MTSs and state farms, enhancement of the political role and influence

of MTSs and state farms in the countryside, and a cardinal improvement in the political and economic work of our cells in kolkhozes and state farms, the CPSU(B) CC has decided to set up politotdels at all MTSs and state farms, to be headed by political deputy managers of MTSs and state farms.

With the progress of politotdels' activities, kolkhozes were strengthened organisationally and economically. The politotdels won great prestige in the eyes of the peasants.

Given below is an extract from a letter sent by secretary of the Party cell of the Kubay kolkhoz named after Kalinin, N. M. Yegorshin, to the newspaper *Gorkovskaya Kommuna*.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE KALININ KOLKHOZ IN KUBAY

Our kolkhoz owes its achievements to the politotdel of the MTS and to the Party cell... The Kubay collective farmers have been doing their utmost to realise the slogan "Make collective farmers well-to-do and cultured"... Two years ago, when total collectivisation was carried out, the kolkhoz owned livestock and agricultural implements to the total of 27,000 rubles. Currently, the kolkhoz's assets are worth no less than 245,000 rubles. Our kolkhoz has grown and is still being built up. We have already built a cattle-yard and stable, a silo, a storehouse, a pigsty, a fodder-storage barn, and a reading-room. Our main attainment in 1933 was the electrification of the village. Today, 165 village huts have electricity.

The first Model Rules of the Agricultural Artel was adopted in 1930; however, even then it was not up to the new level of the kolkhoz movement. By the beginning of 1935, the draft of a new Model Rules of the Agricultural Artel had been worked out and was adopted by the Second All-Union Congress of Best Collective Farmers, in February 1935.

The Model Rules of the Agricultural Artel contained clear definitions of the goals and objectives of the agricultural artel, which had become the principal form of the kolkhoz movement. The new Rules facilitated the strengthening of the kolkhoz system.

FROM THE MODEL RULES OF THE AGRICULTURAL ARTEL ADOPTED BY THE SECOND ALL-UNION CONGRESS OF THE BEST COLLECTIVE FARMERS AND APPROVED BY THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS OF THE USSR AND THE CC OF THE CPSU(B) ON 17 FEBRUARY 1935

I. GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

1. The working peasants of village (stanitsa, village farmstead, kishlak, aul) and of district voluntarily join in an agricultural artel in order, by the socialised means of production and organised labour, to build a collective, that is socialised, economy, secure a complete victory over the kulaks and over all exploiters and enemies of the working people, do away completely with poverty and illiteracy and with the backwardness of the small-scale individual holdings, and thus to ensure better life for the collective farmers.

The kolkhoz way, the way of socialism, is the only correct way for working peasants. The artel members undertake to consolidate their artel, work in earnest, divide the kolkhoz income according to work done, look after socialised property, take proper care of the kolkhoz implements, tractors and other machinery, tend horses well, carry out the tasks placed on them by their worker-and-peasant state, and, through all these, make their kolkhoz a Bolshevist kolkhoz and all its members well-to-do peasants.

Socialist industrialisation and the collectivisation of agriculture set up broad possibilities for raising the well-being and cultural level of the Soviet people. The Soviet government abolished bread rationing (which had been in existence since 1925) as of 1 January 1935.

FROM THE CPSU(B) CC PLENARY MEETING'S RESOLUTION ON CANCELLATION OF THE SYSTEM OF RATION CARDS FOR DISTRIBUTION OF BREAD AND OTHER FOOD PRODUCTS

November 26, 1934

The abolition of the system of ration cards for the distribution of bread and other food products and the transfer, on a broad basis, to bread trade at fixed state prices, as well as the

fair possibility of a cut in these prices in the future, and accompanying it, a cut in prices of manufactured goods, create favourable conditions for a further rise in the working-class' and peasants' living standards.

This undertaking has been possible due to the victory secured by the kolkhoz system in the countryside and a rise in agriculture, and in its turn provides for an even faster growth in the future of agriculture and industrial production on the basis of a strengthened Soviet ruble and increasing trade between town and countryside.

Major Victories of the Cultural Revolution

Cultural revolution is one of the main stages of Lenin's plan of building socialism in the USSR. It provides for a great leap from the cultural backwardness typical of the majority of the population to universal literacy, rise of Soviet intelligentsia, mastery of all cultural achievements in the areas of science and art. Cultural revolution means that intellectual life is reformed on the basis of Marxism-Leninism; it signifies the rise of a new man—an active and conscientious builder of communism.

Cultural revolution scored marked successes in the years of first five-year plan periods. As a result of the cultural revolution, the Soviet people gained broad access to higher and secondary education, to the attainments of science and technology, culture and art and scored major successes in the building of socialist culture.

ON EDUCATIONAL WORK AMONG NATIONAL MINORITIES FROM THE RESOLUTION OF THE RSFSR COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS ON THE REPORT OF THE RSFSR COMMISSARIAT FOR EDUCATION

June 18, 1926

The enormous cultural and economic backwardness of Eastern peoples, and the lack of much needed culture officers—a grave legacy of tsarist government—presents the greatest obstacle to educational work among Eastern nationalities.

The Council of People's Commissars, considering the further spread of educational work among national minorities, particularly among culturally backward peoples, for the purpose of raising the cultural level of those peoples to that of the rest of the RSFSR population, a matter of immense political importance, decrees:

...To consider it our main task to open the needed amount

of teachers' training schools for national minorities in conformity with the plan of establishing universal education, and to provide for grants for the students.

...To pay special attention to training scientists from among the national minorities by attaching them to research-and-development centres and universities as researchers and post-graduate students, and by adding special provisions concerning national minorities into the plans of the respective research and art establishments and museums.

FROM THE CPSU(B) CC RESOLUTION ON COMPULSORY AND UNIVERSAL PRIMARY EDUCATION

July 25, 1930

The advance of socialist construction and the vast tasks of personnel training involved, elimination of cultural and industrial backwardness, and education of broad layers of the population in the spirit of communism requires the urgent introduction of universal and compulsory primary education as an important prerequisite for the further progress of the cultural revolution...

To introduce country-wide universal compulsory primary education for children of 8 to 10 years starting from 1930/31; subsequently to develop compulsory primary education encompassing eleven-year-old children in 1931/32.

The socialist reconstruction of the USSR's national economy placed high demands on the quality of training. On 23 June 1936, the USSR Council of People's Commissars and the CPSU(B) CC adopted a decision on the operation and management of higher schools.

The implementation of the measures indicated in this resolution helped improve educational processes and speed up the training of highly qualified scientific and engineering personnel for work in national economy.

At the close of 1923, in order to free the country from dependence on foreign supplies of natural rubber, the All-Union Council of National Economy announced an open competition for the best industrial method of manufacturing synthetic rubber. Scientists from many countries participated in the competition. Academician Lebedev and a group of his associates were able to develop the best method for the manufacture of synthetic rubber. In the summer of 1934, construction of synthetic rubber factories began in the towns of Yaroslavl, Voronezh, and Yefremov.

By the end of the second five-year period, the Soviet tyre industry was no longer dependent on imports of natural rubber.

The industrial manufacture of synthetic rubber was a major achievement of Soviet science. Academician Lebedev was one of the first scientists in our country to be decorated with the Order of Lenin.

V.V. TIKHOMIROV

SOVIET SYNTHETIC RUBBER: HOW IT ALL BEGAN...

News of Soviet-made synthetic rubber spread quickly throughout the world. The bourgeois world met the news with distrust. Neither did Thomas A. Edison, the famous American inventor, believe that the Soviet Union had been able to produce synthetic rubber. Edison, viewed in the West as the "prophet of the century", said in a press interview that the reports that Soviet Russia had managed to produce synthetic rubber were just incredible. It by no means could be done. To say more, the whole information was nothing but nonsense. From my own experience and the experience of others it was clear that it was hardly possible to produce synthetic rubber anywhere at all, to say nothing of Russia with her high-cost prime materials. Newspapers in many countries printed his statement. The problem which had taken so much of his time and effort and whose solution he believed impossible—this problem had been solved in remote and, to him, somewhat mysterious Russia!

In February 1934, the icebreaker *Cheliuskin* sunk in the Chukotka Sea while on the way from Leningrad to Vladivostok along the Northern Sea Route. The 103 members of the *Cheliuskin* expedition became stranded on the ice. The government commission on saving the expedition sent icebreakers and planes to the camp on ice.

Soviet air pilots, displaying unrivalled heroism and skill in the harsh conditions of the Arctic, rescued all members of the expedition.

On 16 April 1934, the Central Executive Committee of the USSR established the highest award of distinction—the title Hero of the Soviet Union. The air pilots who had rescued the expedition were the first to be awarded this title. They were: Mikhail Vodopyanov, Ivan Doronin, Nikolai Kamanin, Sighizmund Levanevsky, Anatoly Lyapidevsky, Vassily Molokov, and Mavriky Slepnyov.

RADIOGRAM OF EXPEDITION CHIEF OTTO SCHMIDT TO MOSCOW

Polar Sea, Schmidt's camp.

Today, 5 March, is a happy day for the *Cheliuskin* expedition members as well as a remarkable day for Soviet aviation. Aircraft ANT-4, piloted by Lyapidevsky, with observer

pilot Petrov, flew from Uelen to our camp, landed on the airstrip we had prepared for the purpose, and safely took on board all the women and children from the *Cheliuskin* expedition, returning them to Uelen. The plane found its course over ice and, with a striking confidence, landed right on our airstrip. The landing and take-off were performed with an amazing precision on a landing strip of a mere 200 metres.

The success of Lyapidevsky's flight is all the more significant considering that the temperature outside was 40°C below zero.

A wide unfrozen patch of water formed between the camp and the airstrip, so that we had to drag a boat over three kilometres of ice from the camp to the airstrip.

The successful beginning of rescue operations has lifted the spirit of the expedition even higher, sure of the attention and concern of the government and the entire nation. We are deeply grateful.

Expedition Chief Schmidt
(From the book by M. Vodopyanov, *Story of First Heroes*, Moscow, 1968)

On 18-20 June 1937, the aircraft ANT-25, crewed by Valery Chkalov, Georgy Baidukov, and Alexander Belyakov, made the first nonstop flight from Moscow to the US across the North Pole, covering over 12,000 km in 63 hours and 25 minutes. Half of the route lay over Arctic waters and ice. The Soviet pilots established a world record for long-range nonstop flights. To commemorate their great feat, the Chkalov Museum was opened and a monument—the first to be established in the United States in honour of Soviet people—was erected in Vancouver (Washington) in 1975.

Below is an extract from Chkalov's book, *My Life Belongs to the Motherland*, which tells about that historic flight.

FLIGHT FROM MOSCOW TO THE US ACROSS THE NORTH POLE

At 5.10 Belyakov radioed: "All is well! Left the Pole behind, fair wind, ice, open white ice fields with cracks and patches of ice-free water. Spirits high, flight level is 4,200 metres." We were going farther—to the Pole of Inaccessibility. No aircraft had ever been there. We were the first to fly over that mysterious polar basin...

Temperature: 30°C below zero. Flight level: 5,700 metres. Again we were flying blindly. The aircraft was thrown from side to side. Yegor (Baidukov) was straining to control the

plane. For an hour it was like that. Then it became clear that it would be impossible to continue the flight at that height. A centimetre-thick layer of ice had covered nearly the entire surface of the aircraft. The icing was china-white—the most dangerous kind. That kind is unusually strong. Suffice it to say that it can last for 16 hours without melting.

We headed down. In a clearing, from the height of 3,000 metres, we saw an island... The brown ground of the Banks Island appeared. The crew heaved a sigh of relief. Baidukov and Belyakov, who were very hungry, were devouring partly frozen apples and oranges—the second snack in 40 hours of flying.

We flew over clear water in excellent weather, and at 16.15 crossed the Pearce Point cape. Below lay Canadian territory. We lost much time, effort, and fuel fighting cyclones, and yet—we were the first...

FROM THE RESOLUTION OF THE RCP(B) CC "ON THE PARTY LINE IN THE AREA OF BELLES-LETTRES"

June 18, 1925

1. The rise in public well-being, along with the change in consciousness made by the revolution, greater activity of the masses, vastly extended horizons, etc., is producing a vast increase of cultural needs and wants. We have, thus, entered the period of cultural revolution, which is a prerequisite of further advance toward a communist society.

2. A part of this process is the rise of new literature—proletarian and peasant literature above all from its embryonic, but highly widespread, forms (reports by worker and peasant correspondents, wall newspapers, etc.) to ideologically consistent works in literature and art...

The Party stresses the need for creating works of fiction intended for true mass readership, workers and peasants; we must be more firm and resolute in doing away with the prejudices of "lordliness" in literature, and, using all the technical skill of the old masters, develop a suitable form, understandable to millions.

NIKOLAI OSTROVSKY'S FEAT

Below is an extract from the speech by a prominent Party member G. Petrovsky delivered at a meeting in a Sochi theatre devoted to investiture of N. Ostrovsky with the Order of Lenin.

Nikolai Ostrovsky reminds me of the legendary hero Prometheus. The myth tells us that Prometheus stole fire from the Gods and gave it to men. For this, he was chained to a rock, where he suffered terribly. A bloodthirsty eagle tore open his breast. Comrade Ostrovsky is "chained" to a bed, and thirsts for participation in socialist construction. In spite of his grave disease, he is able to create wonderful works and to show the world the advantages of the Soviet system; a system which has moulded such a fighter as Ostrovsky, which has reared him in the struggle for socialism and against capitalism. No force has been able to break his iron-cast will in the fight for mankind's lofty ideals, for communism. He is courageously fighting his physical ailments and produces great works of literature which bring out in men communist consciousness, firmness, loyalty to the socialist Motherland, to socialism.

FROM THE RULES OF THE SOVIET WRITERS' UNION ADOPTED BY THE FIRST ALL-UNION CONGRESS OF SOVIET WRITERS ON 1 SEPTEMBER 1934

During the years of proletarian dictatorship, Soviet belles-lettres and Soviet literary criticism, moving side by side with the working class under the guidance of the Communist Party, have developed new creative principles. These principles, which are, on the one hand, the result of a critical assimilation of literary heritage, and on the other, the study of triumphant socialist construction and growing socialist culture, have found a manifest expression in socialist realism.

Socialist realism—the principal method of Soviet fiction writing and literary criticism—requires historically truthful and concrete depiction of reality in its revolutionary development. The truthful and historically concrete character of a literary work must coincide with the objective of ideological transformation and education of the working people in the spirit of socialism.

Socialist realism provides an exceptionally good opportunity for displaying creative initiative and for choosing from a variety of forms, genres, and styles.

FROM THE DOCUMENT "THIRD FIVE-YEAR PLAN OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE USSR NATIONAL ECONOMY (1938-1942)" ADOPTED BY THE 18TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU(B) ON 20 MARCH 1939)

1. *Results of the Second Five-Year Plan Period and Principal Objectives of the Third Five-Year Plan*

As a result of the successful completion of the Second Five-Year Plan assignments (1933-37), the *principal historical objective* of this period has been realised in the USSR; all exploiting classes and all conditions giving rise to man's exploitation by man and to society's division into the exploiters and the exploited have been totally eliminated. A most difficult task of the socialist revolution has been accomplished—collectivisation of agriculture has been completed and the kolkhoz system strengthened permanently...

The chief and fundamental *economic objective* of the Second Five-Year Plan—completion of technical reconstruction of the USSR's national economy—has, in the main, been realised.

The deep changes that have occurred in the life of the Soviet Union, the final triumphs of socialism in the country's economy and social system, have been legislatively secured in the 5 December 1936 Constitution of the USSR adopted by the Extraordinary Eighth All-Union Congress of Soviets.

CONSTITUTION (FUNDAMENTAL LAW) OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS (1936)

(excerpt)

Chapter I

The social structure

Article 1. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist state of workers and peasants.

Article 2. The political foundation of the USSR is the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, which grew and became strong as a result of the overthrow of the power of the landowners and capitalists and the attainment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Article 3. All power in the USSR is vested in the working people of town and country as represented by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Article 4. The economic foundation of the USSR is the socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production, firmly established as a result of abolishing the capitalist system of economy, the private ownership of the instruments and means of production, and the exploitation of man by man.

* * *

The completion of socialist reconstruction in all sectors of the USSR's national economy and the building, in the main, of socialist society was of world-wide importance. It signified the accomplishment of Lenin's behests, and was a result of selfless labour efforts by the Soviet people under the guidance of the Communist Party.

The basic means of production passed into the hands of the people. The *nationalisation* of land, factories, plants and banks ensured the preconditions necessary for asserting and developing socialist ownership and organising a system of planned economy. *Industrialisation* turned the Soviet Union into a powerful industrial state. *Collectivisation* of agriculture was a breakthrough in economic relations, in the entire life of the peasantry. The alliance of the working class and the peasantry was placed on a solid socio-economic foundation. As a result of the *cultural revolution*, illiteracy was stamped out, broad vistas were opened for the development of creative forces and the intellectual flourishing of the working man, a socialist intelligentsia emerged, and Marxist-Leninist ideology became dominant in the minds of the Soviet people.

The solution of the *nationalities question* is an outstanding accomplishment of socialism. The victory of the October Revolution forever put an end to national oppression and inequality among nations and ethnic groups. A tremendous role was played here by the voluntary unification of the free and equal peoples into a single multinational state— the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In the course of building socialism rapid economic, social and cultural progress of the former national outlands was ensured. Ethnic conflicts became a thing of the past, and fraternal friendship, close cooperation and mutual assistance of all peoples of the USSR became a way of life.

All this signified that a social transformation of world-wide historic importance had been accomplished—the age-old

dominance of private ownership was eliminated and exploitation of man by man abolished forever. Socio-political and ideological unity of Soviet society took shape on the basis of the common interests of the working class, the collective farmers, people's intelligentsia, and the working people of all nationalities. The working man became the full master of the country. *A socialist society in the USSR was essentially built.*

REQUEST TO READERS

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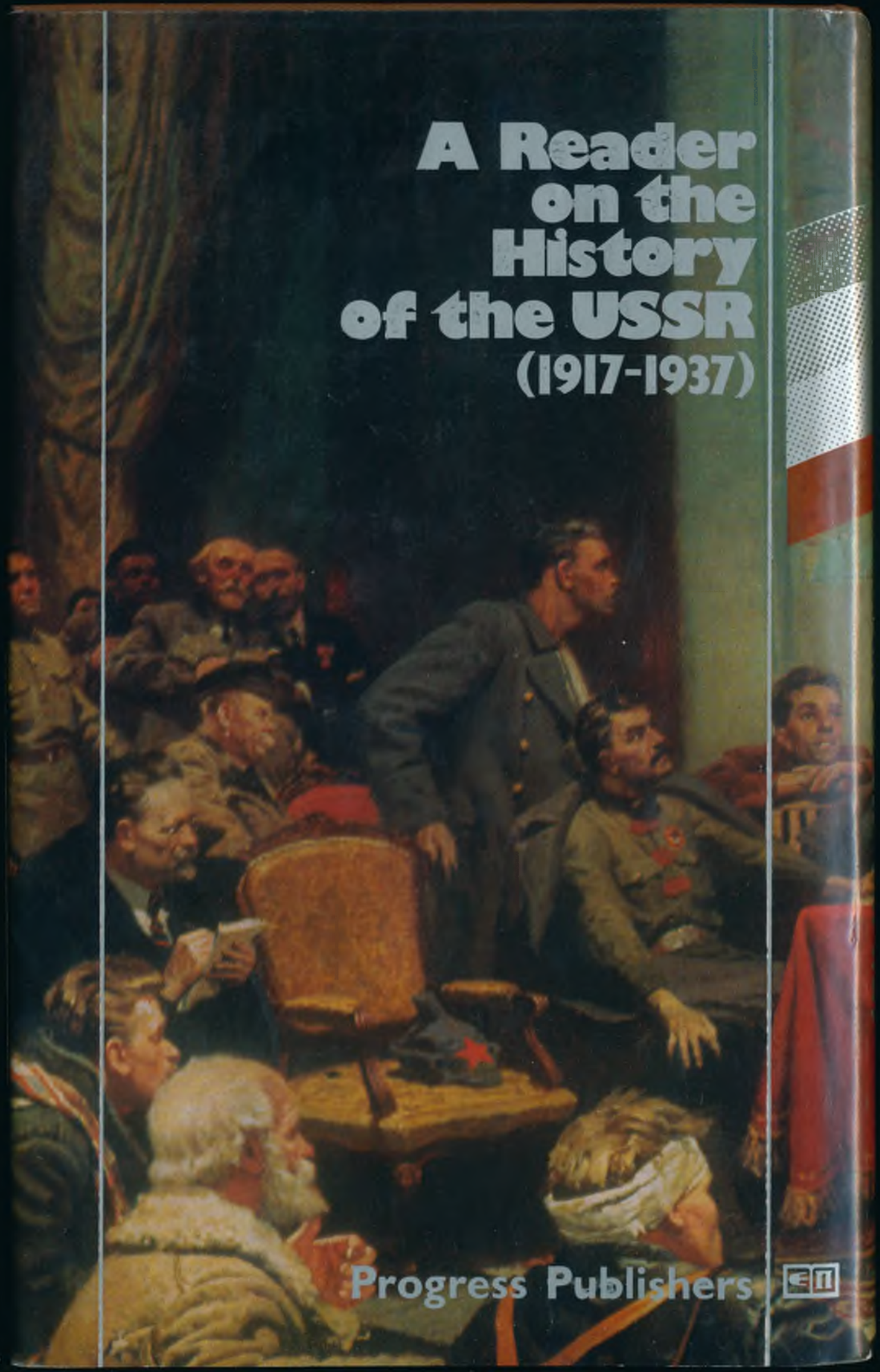
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